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Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-95-230
Thursday
30 November 1995

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

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Key Developments

Reportage on 'Elections '95' Campaign Coverage

Skokov Interviewed on KRO's Objectives

LD2911232695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1830 GMT on 29 November carries a 30-minute recorded interview with Yuriy Skokov, leader of the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO], by an unidentified correspondent for the "Elections '95" program.

Skokov gives a brief history of the organization and speaks about its main objectives. He says the KRO is mainly preoccupied with the "problem of the survival of the Russian people in general and the problem of preserving the Russian people as the main nation-forming people in our state: out of 148 million people, 120 million are Russian."

Skokov speaks about his team and says originally, the people had been united by the "idea of self-defense. People have united in order to defend themselves jointly. The Russian state has abandoned them and the former friends, partners, and brothers — the indigenous peoples — are now openly humiliating them and depriving them of citizenship. The international community which is making so much fuss about the protection of human rights has been shutting its eyes to open genocide and violations of human rights. So the people united to defend themselves by their own means."

Skokov says their objective is to unite people: "We keep saying that we are a supraparty movement; it does not matter to us what party a person belongs to or to what political views a person adheres. The main thing is that we are the Russian people and we are united, and together with other peoples we must preserve this state and prevent our own destruction. Therefore, the first and foremost objective of our movement is to use the movement as a method, as a way of uniting people, irrespective of their party affiliation, nationality, or religion."

Skokov speaks about the impoverishment of the population and the grim economic situation in the country.

The interview with Yuriy Skokov is interrupted by man-in-the-street interviews with people in the provinces who explain why they joined the KRO.

Unidentified voice-over says: "We have been and will continue to be the union of all the peoples of Russia — the Congress of Russian Communities — be with us!"

Lysenko on National Republican Party

LD2911231895 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1605 GMT 29 Nov 95

[Address by Nikolay Lysenko, National Republican Party of Russia member, for the "Elections '95" program — live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Greetings, dear fellow countrymen. Today those of you who watched the morning television marathon on the Russia TV channel probably had the opportunity to see the extremely unpleasant scene when several attempts were made to wreck my address.

I do not wish to, and I cannot accuse, the unintelligible girl who tried to do this. Evidently she had been ordered to do so. Although, if one looks at it carefully, then what was there in my address that went too far? After that television marathon I received about 800 telephone calls at the Russian State Duma and the overwhelming majority of these calls were from people who unambiguously supported the thoughts that I expressed to Russia's citizens.

What was I speaking about? I was saying that a criminal mafia wave has rolled over our country and the roots of this wave, unfortunately, lie beyond Russia's borders. The roots of this wave lie in the republics of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. It is precisely from there that waves of immigrants enter Russia, live illegally on the territory of Russia and foist on our country their criminal background. They create their own special criminal milieu. They rape our women. They kill and rob. They have filled our hotels and towns.

How should this phenomenon be combatted? World practice knows examples in which similar questions have been resolved within the framework of democratic states. By decision of the Potsdam Conference, Germans were expelled from a whole range of territories, on the territory of Poland and on the territory of Czechoslovakia. This was done in order to avoid — I stress, precisely to avoid — further bloodshed which would inevitably have arisen as a result of the Second World War. That was a humane action.

But when I propose the immediate expulsion from Russian territory of all illegally residents who have come from the CIS republics, from Azerbaijan, from Uzbekistan, from Georgia, from Armenia this is regarded as inciting interethnic dissention. But what dissention can there be here when we are speaking about defending the national interests of the people of Russia, when we say that we must expell citizens of foreign states who are illegally resident here? For it is precisely these people who are imposing the wave of crime here in Russia.

As if to mock the Russia TV channel, which at present is a frankly anti-Russian mouthpiece of pro-American lobbying forces here in Russia, the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, literally yesterday, carried an article with a characteristic title. It is almost a quotation from my address: Ethnic groupings have have been unleashed on Moscow. Why is something that is permitted to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA not permitted for a deputy of Russia's State Duma?

And so, I would like to read out to you what I regard as the most terrible figures from that publication. As of today there are in Moscow seven ethnic communities among whom 116 organized criminal groups and groupings have been revealed. The total number of active members is about 2,000. This is a whole regiment, even two regiments. The leading place in this list is taken by people from Azerbaijan with 32 organized criminal groupings. In next place are people from Dagestan with 20 organized criminal groupings; Chechnya with 20 organized criminal groupings; Armenia with 17; North Ossetia with nine; Ingushetia with four.

The result of their activity — what a modest word activity is — the result of their war against us. Let us call things by their correct names. They are not engaged in activity. Activity is something engaged in by Russian businessmen, by Russian professors, by Russian airmen, and teachers. This is a war against Russia and we must clearly respond to this wave with commensurate measures of state force. I say with force, not with violence.

The results of their activity — I quote the article — in the first nine months of this years are as follows: 2,484 crimes, which is 746 more than the same period last year. Inhabitants of sovereign Georgia have distinguished themselves most; they have committed 977 violations of the law. Azerbaijanis are not far behind with 881 crimes. Armenians are credited with 278 crimes. Dagestanis 145. Chechens 121 crimes.

How long can they try our Russian goodheartedness? How long can they try our Christian mercy. For, these people have unleashed on us — if one employs the term used by the Islamic fundamentalists — a Jihad, a sort of holy war. Against whom? Against the state that has given them shelter, against the state that has allowed them to live on our territory and to grow rich. And they behave like this!

Therefore our National Rwepublican Party of Russia states quite unambiguously: no more mercy. No more mercy for criminals. Let us show mercy to orphans, let us show mercy to our brothers who have been expelled from there. Let us display mercy to our women who have in essence been deprived of the elementary opportunity of having a second child. Let us show mercy to our old people who have been thrown onto the streets with no means of existence. Let us show mercy to our veterans who have been deprived of the opportunity to wear their military awards with pride.

Therefore, we propose, specifically, the immediate expulsion from the territory of Russia of all southern guest workers who are residing here illegally. Secondly, a tough visa regime under which even an Azerbaijani fly will not be able to cross our border. And finally, thirdly, a complete revision of the criminal privatization. Russians have departed from the south, from the republics of Transcaucasus and Central Asia, in poverty. Correspondingly, those people who have illegally piled up billions by swindling Russians should give up their capital.

I appeal to you to vote for the National Republican Party of Russia. Our symbol is the Novgorod sun cross [a cross inside a circle] with which our forefathers went into battle. We are Number 28 in the federal election list. Thank you.

Rybkin Describes Bloc's 'Principles'

LD2811231995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1605 GMT on 28 November carries an eight-minute recorded interview with Ivan Rybkin, leader of the Rybkin bloc, by unidentified correspondent for the "Elections '95" program. Video shows Rybkin in an office; correspondent is off-camera.

Asked about the origins of the pivotal principles of Rybkin's bloc — justice, order, peace — Rybkin recalls his own parents, his postwar childhood, and school years. He stresses that "society showed a just attitude toward us, fatherless children hurt by the war, children whose fathers came home as invalids and those who had well-off parents — we all studied in the same schools. I attended a school where all the teachers without exception had university degrees and that was in late 50s, early 60s. At that time we were astonishing the world by launching the sputniks, and 6 percent of national income was spent on education, science, and culture." Rybkin then discusses his further education in Volgograd Agricultural Institute and his work after graduation. He introduced new economic principles successfully at his new workplace at a collective farm, but his initiative was later thwarted by bureaucrats. "After that I served in the army as a private and I would like to say bluntly that the Soviet Army's training was among the best in the world. I wish we could restore the defense capability at the level it [Soviet Army] had," Rybkin says.

Rybkin recalls his further career as an institute lecturer. At that time he realized that the country needed change "on the sensible foundations of social justice, order, legality, creativity, and realism. I believe that a powerful united party of toilers, people engaged in intellectual and manual work, can be set up only on the basis of these principles and approaches, on the basis of sympathy for people's needs, frustrations, and worries. Only by uniting efforts can all this be restored. Only then will we have defense security, financial security, food security, and personal safety for Russian citizens." Rybkin ends his interview by quoting an unnamed author on love for Russia as a unifying factor.

Ryzhkov Criticizes NDR, Opponents

LD2911123895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0525 GMT on 29 November carries on its "Elections '95" program hosted by Georgiy Kuznetsov a recorded video report for the Power to the People! bloc led by Nikolay Ryzhkov. The broadcast begins by showing a classroom in which children say that power to the people is the most vital thing for the country. This is followed by video footage of Nikolay Ryzhkov touring the country as well as interviews with various politicians and public figures praising Ryzhkov and his bloc, Power to the People!

Next, Ryzhkov is shown in a room with a correspondent, who asks him about his political opponents. Ryzhkov replies: "We regard as our political opponents those people who have ruined the Soviet Union and brought our great state and our people to their present-day condition. Speaking specifically, I should name Russia Is Our Home [NDR] and the government that is today running the state, and it is the government precisely that is responsible for the situation today. It is Gaydar and Yakovlev who started these reforms in which the state is still bogged down. It is Boris Fedorov and Shakhray who initiated the state's collapse. So these are our political opponents whom we are going to fight in the elections."

Ryzhkov concludes by appealing to the electorate to be vigilant against empty promises from other candidates and to vote for his bloc.

Kozyrev Seeks To 'Minimize Harm' From Campaign

MK2911134395 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 29 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Leonid Velekhov: "Andrey Kozyrev Prepares for Election Consequences. 'Roundtables' in Foreign Ministry Are Intended To 'Minimize Harm From Electoral Campaign'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, Andrey Kozyrev held a second "roundtable" with members of Russian political parties and movements. Unlike the first meeting on 17 November, this time the minister gave a more detailed answer to the question many people were so interested in: What precisely is the objective of these "roundtables" and in what capacity is the foreign minister conducting them, as he is after all a State Duma candidate?

Mr. Kozyrev said such meetings were necessary in order to "prepare for the post-electoral situation" and to create "something like a public accord on the main elements of our foreign policy" so as "to minimize harm from the electoral campaign," which as we know will continue until June. The minister told those gathered, whose number was somewhat greater than the previous time (yesterday's "roundtable" was honored with the presence of Messrs. Volskiy, Shokhin, Nikonov, V. Lysenko, Lipitskiy, and others), that the 17 November meeting "displayed a rather good range of critical comment in regard to the Russian Foreign Ministry," but he politely asked those present also to come up with the "positive platforms" of their parties. In response, Arkadiy Volskiy called for paying special attention to CIS countries and those of "the former Council for Mutual Economic Assistance." The latter countries, in his view, "are beginning to see the light." All those Mr. Volskiy met with — the Bulgarian leaders Zhelev and Videnov, the new Hungarian leadership, the new Polish President Kwasniewski — "say that they have no place to go without Russia." "Work should be started," Mr. Volskiy concluded, obviously implying work to recreate the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The next speaker, Aleksandr Shokhin, also called for "restoring, by other than forcible methods, the economic, cultural, and ethnic-cultural space" of the former USSR and praised Mr. Kozyrev for organizing the discussion, which "will ensure continuity in foreign policy."

Agrarian Party's Lapshin Attacks Premier, NDR

*LD2911133195 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1108 GMT 29 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Nov 29 (INTERFAX) — Head of the Russia's Agrarian Party Mikhail Lapshin said "Viktor Chernomyrdin has exhausted his potential as the prime minister."

Speaking at a news conference with INTERFAX on Wednesday, Lapshin noted that it is high time for Chernomyrdin "to wind up his premiership."

"He is a fairly good politician. Help him God to turn his bloc into a party," he added.

Lapshin believes that Our Home Is Russia (NDR) should participate in the election race on equal terms, not through "these pompous trips (around the country) where everything works for the premier."

"In some cases, the governors issue orders to gather people for an election meeting" with the NDR leader.

He also noted that the Agrarian Party cannot afford to put up billboards with election propaganda in the streets as NDR does because each such billboard costs at least R100 million.

"How many farms have not gotten their money and how many lives have been ruined just because thousands of such posters have been put up in Moscow alone. It is immoral to use power in this way," he said.

Court Rejects Starodubtsev's Bid as Independent

*LD2911213195 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] By decision of the Supreme Court, Vasiliy Starodubtsev, one of the leaders of the electoral association, the Agrarian Party of Russia, cannot run for the State Duma as an independent candidate put forward by the electorate. The judicial collegium for civilian matters of the Supreme Court examined his complaint today with regard to the action of the constituency electoral commission of the 175th, Novomoskovskiy, constituency of Tula Region, but did not uphold it.

In his appeal the applicant pointed out that, in refusing to register him as an independent candidate, the representatives of the constituency commission referred to the fact that Starodubtsev is already included on the federal register of candidates standing for deputies from the electoral association, the Agrarian Party of Russia. The court acknowledged the action of the electoral commission to be correct.

Regional Activities

Lebed Sees No Military Solution in Chechnya

*LD2911135295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1255 GMT 29 Nov 95*

[By Boris Belyakov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SAMARA, November 29 (ITAR-TASS) — General Aleksandr Lebed, former commander of Russian troops deployed in Moldavia's Dniester region and a leader of one of the most popular opposition blocs, the Congress of Russian Communities (KRO), on Wednesday voiced his support to government's efforts aimed at a political solution of the Chechen conflict.

Lebed, electioneering in Samara, told a meeting of his supporters: "There is no longer a military way of resolving the Chechen problem."

"Troops could be of help last year, now it takes a political will to stop the on-going bloodshed", the general said.

Lebed sharply criticised the Russian leadership when it sent troops to Chechnya last December.

Current polls repeatedly show Lebed's KRO is among the top five contenders in December election to the State Duma.

Election Guidelines

Candidates Must Document Consent to Campaign Ads

*MM3011111595 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 29 Nov 95 p 6*

[Decree No. 47/402-II of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission "On the Procedure Governing the Submission of Orders for the Placement of Election Campaign Material," signed by A.V. Ivanchenko, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, and A.A. Veshnyakov, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, in Moscow on 18 November — from the "Documents" section]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the basis of Article 11 of the federal law "On Basic Guarantees of Russian Federation Citizens' Electoral Rights" and Article 23 of the federal law "On Elections of Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma Deputies" and with a view to ensuring implementation of the requirements of Article 52 of the federal law "On Elections of Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma Deputies," the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees that:

1. Corporate entities, when submitting orders for the placement of election campaign material in support of a candidate deputy, electoral association, or electoral bloc, shall submit to the editorial office of the periodical publication, television and radio company, or enterprise publishing the campaign material documents confirming the consent of the candidate deputy, electoral association, or electoral bloc to the performance of the said function (a copy of the contract, letter of guarantee, other documents) in the sphere regulated by election legislation.

2. This decree is to be published in the journal VESTNIK TSENTRALNOY IZBIRATELNOY KOMISSII ROSSIYSKOY FEDERATSII and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA.

[Signed] A.V. Ivanchenko, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

A.A. Veshnyakov, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

[Dated] Moscow, 18 November 1995
No. 47/402-II

Forecasts & Commentary

Chernomyrdin Interviewed on NDR Bloc

LD2911200795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1903 GMT 29 Nov 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Russians have many questions to ask from the head of their government and leader of the Our Home is Russia [NDR] election bloc, but the regional mass media has little access to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. Below are Chernomyrdin's replies to questions from the provincial mass media compiled by the INTERFAX news agency.

QUESTION: How is the Our Home bloc you lead going to cope with the problem of taxation putting the producers to their knee?

CHERNOMYRDIN: Indeed, there has emerged an illogical, let alone insensible system of taxation which can be described as a system of requisitions levied on honest people (alas, the crooks have learnt the trick of tax evasion). Our Home plans to overhaul the existing structure of taxation and its philosophy in order to stimulate rather than stifle production. The entrepreneurs must be given incentives to pay taxes rather than cover up their income and withdraw into the dangerous shadow economy. Significantly, the 1996 draft budget provides for an increase in tax revenues up to 15% of GDP.

QUESTION: Don't you think your negotiation with Basayev was a forced measure for you as a politician or were concerned about the state?

CHERNOMYRDIN: My involvement in the talks with this man was in no way caused by a desire to strike rapport with him. In this sense, the dialogue with Basayev can be called a forced one. I was forced to enter the talks being led by a desire to end the bloodshed as quickly as possible, save innocent lives and open the peace process in Chechnya, as a state dimension priority.

QUESTION: Why not forge a common alliance with Ivan Rybkin?

CHERNOMYRDIN: It would be ideal if all Russian politicians who care for the country's future rally their effort to lead Russia out of crisis. We are open for dialogue and cooperation with parties and movements sharing similar goals, but not with right or left wing extremists or ultra-radicals.

QUESTION: Are there any plans for tax cuts on the mass media and if so, when? How much longer will monopoly paper producers be allowed to dictate prices?

CHERNOMYRDIN: We plan to ease the excessive burden of tax on the mass media by lifting some of the "requisitions" on them and publishing houses. The government is working on this.

As for monopoly paper producers, market principles are already at work in this area: if you have money, you can buy any quality paper in any amount you wish. But the money will appear if the mass media learn to run their business in newly-emerging conditions. But as I said, the government will help them by tax cuts and providing support for the regional press.

QUESTION: How is the government going to back NIOKR (the defense-related research company)? And when will it clear arrears to the defense sector?

CHERNOMYRDIN: Efforts will be taken to try to preserve the brain drain in the sector by raising salaries and increasing expenditure on research into advanced technologies including greater budget spending.

As to government arrears to the defense industry, this serious problem will be resolved and is already being solved as the country's financial standing improves, and conversion programs start to work (but any imbalances must be avoided). Once again, we will be doing our utmost in order to preserve the unique potential that has taken the military-industrial complex decades to create.

QUESTION: Your critics Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Gennadiy Zyuganov, Aleksandr Rutskoy and Boris Fedorov are unanimous that your government has failed to resolve any of the strategic tasks it set for itself. They also speak of bloated bureaucracy and government privileges that former party bureaucrats have ever dreamed of.

CHERNOMYRDIN: I would like to ask those gentlemen in return what exactly they consider to be the country's strategic economic goals. Aren't the signs of financial stabilization, a halt in output fall and dwindling inflation among Russia's strategic goals? The government's achievements in these strategic areas are recognized by most Russian and foreign experts and we are determined to press ahead.

As for government staff, this has been allowed to grow out of proportion in recent years. However, measures have now been taken to trim it down, and President Boris Yeltsin has set an example.

On benefits to civil servants. This has been just an attempt to try to compensate their modest salaries. But these benefits are nothing compared with what fringe benefits received when the former Soviet Union was still alive.

QUESTION: What makes your government's policy different from that of Gaydar's?

CHERNOMYRDIN: The main difference lies in a shift away from the shock treatment of the economy to phased reforms. No more of revolutionary upheavals of the past — this is the principle we are determined to stick to. Other differences follow by definition, including our concern for social security matters. In short, we expound the idea of socially-oriented reforms.

QUESTION: Are there any government plans to try to turn a republic such as Kabardino-Balkaria into a place attractive to foreign tourists?

CHERNOMYRDIN: There are plans for maximal use of natural conditions of this republic and other regions for development of domestic and international tourism. Millions of Russians can now travel abroad, but the flow of foreign tourists to Russia has sharply reduced causing damage running into hundreds of millions of dollars. Russia has a lot of places attractive for tourists but weak infrastructures and high crime rates cause difficulties. We are going to resolve them. The government will give support for promising tourist zones.

QUESTION: What do you think must done to improve the country's political structure? What do you make of demands for granting an equal status to Russian regions, territories and republics?

CHERNOMYRDIN: We are seeking to create a genuinely democratic federation and harmonize ethnic relations. There is the need to beef up the principles of federalism and ethnic equality and develop local self-rule.

However, we are opposed to the idea of lowering the status of republics to that of territories and regions and vice versa. Russia must avoid either a reversal to a unitary state or dilution of its statehood in an almost unmanageable confederation.

Lebed Discusses Alleged Differences With Skokov

MK2811140695 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 47, 23-29 Nov 95 (Signed to press 22 Nov 95) p 9

[Interview with Aleksandr Lebed by Rodion Morozov; place and date not given: "Lebed Talks Without Skokov's Approval"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yevgeniy Kiselev reported in the latest "Itogi" [TV program]: Yuriy Skokov and Aleksandr Lebed have fallen out after all. The conflict, he said, has reached a point where Skokov has prohibited his Congress of Russian Communities [KRO] comrade-in-arms from giving interviews without his, Yuriy Vladimirovich's [Skokov] permission. Since even Defense Minister Pavel Grachev could not, in the past, ban the appearances of the 14th Army commander, OBSHCHAYA GAZETA correspondent Rodion Morozov has decided to check out this information, in an empirical way, talking with Aleksandr Lebed without Mr. Skokov's sanction.

[Morozov] Aleksandr Ivanovich, is this true that you could not agree with Skokov who is to run for Russian president and that you announced that you both would?

[Lebed] The competition talk is simply not serious. From the very start we have had a strictly observed understanding that no one should compete for anything before the Duma elections have been held and their results have become known. There should at least emerge a force on whose behalf we could really speak about our claims to the top position. Neither Skokov nor myself are going to run ahead of the locomotive.

[Morozov] But certain plans are being made anyway. Skokov's "shadow cabinet," designed to replace Chernomyrdin's cabinet, has the position of defense minister reserved for you....

[Lebed] I know nothing of the existence of what you describe as a "shadow" cabinet. Even less of the high and distinguished position allegedly reserved in it for myself.

[Morozov] How can you then account for your double nomination — on the KRO list and as an independent candidate from Tula? Is this not a sign of a lack of confidence in your Congress comrades-in-arms?

[Lebed] I was a division commander in Tula for three years. I must have left good memories there. There were numerous requests from the people of Tula — I heeded them. A delegation from Tula came to Moscow, there was a serious discussion. Yuriy Vladimirovich attended it. Everything was above board, no one came away puzzled or suspicious.

[Morozov] Skokov attributed your early departure from Krasnodar (I cite "Itogi" once again) to the fact that some damning evidence against you was about to be made public in Moscow, for which reason your presence in the capital was necessary.

[Lebed] Some absurd, malicious rumors once more. I did not leave Krasnodar early. I was there together with Skokov from start to finish. No one made any statements about damning evidence. Simply, Yuriy Vladimirovich left Krasnodar for Stavropol, and I left for Moscow. It was a matter of certain positions of the movement. All the questions have been resolved and I am leaving the capital once again.

From the editors. Nevertheless, the rumors of damning evidence are not entirely without grounds. According to unofficial information available to OBSHCHAYA GAZETA, the "release" of revealing materials will take place after all — before the elections, two weeks or so before them. They will concern the "abuse of office" and "corrupt ties" of the former army commander. The plan is that the retired general should not have time to "wash himself clean" before the elections.

Zyuganov Notes Peasant Roots, CPRF's Prospects

MM2811145295 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Nov 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, CPRF, by Yevgeniy Proshin in Zyuganov's office at the State Duma; date not given: "Gennadiy Zyuganov: 'All the Best That Is in Us Comes From the Russian Land'" — first two paragraphs are SELSKAYA ZHIZN introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] His name — Zyuganov — is heard frequently today. But it is most often uttered, in the press and on the air, in a rather threatening tone. Because he is head of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF], which opposes the unthinking or ill-intentioned transplantation of the Western way of life into Russian soil. Those "Communists" of yesterday who used to be at the pinnacle of the party in the old days and have now turned into "democrats" have set themselves the task of reshaping Russia and its people on the Western pattern, without reckoning with the wishes of the majority. Like incompetent surgeons, they have dismembered a great country and reduced it to scraps — blood is being shed, and the basis of the vital activity of the state organism is collapsing. And this is experienced at first hand by every Russian person who has been brought by the "reformation" to the limits of survival — and there are millions of them. Since the Communists — solely at the prompting of their honor and conscience — are barring the path to the destruction of the Fatherland, these self-seeking "reformers," their TV and radio voices, and the demagogic press malign the CPRF and its leader Zyuganov in every possible way.

We are sitting in his little office at the State Duma. Yes, on the platform or in television debates he is tough, stern, and unyielding. But here he is engagingly mild, pleasant to deal with, and even lighthearted when he is diverted from his numerous duties. He certainly has his hands full, and he was only able to set aside half an hour of his time for our conversation. I asked him:

[Proshin] Gennadiy Andreyevich, what kind of a name is Zyuganov? It sounds to me like something to do with the freemen or the Cossacks. Have you ever investigated its origin?

[Zyuganov] Yes, I have. And you know, it seems to be of agricultural, agrarian origin. They say — though this would have to be checked with the experts — that in the area where I was born, at one time an old Russian variety of wheat was very common, called "zyuganka." A high-yield, resistant variety. That's where our family name comes from, so they say.

On the other hand, maybe it does sound like the whistle of the wind, the blizzard [vyuga], because it's true that I was born in the freemen's regions, between the Oka and Volga rivers. These are age-old Russian lands, where the forest steppes meet the Bryansk forests. Those forests began a kilometer from us, and the wide Orel spaces swept right up to them.

[Proshin] Judging by the fighting qualities you display in political battles, presumably you weren't timid even as a boy. Tell me, how did you grow up, and where?

[Zyuganov] I was born at the end of the war. My dad was severely wounded at Sevastopol — he lost a leg.... This year I went to that area to pay homage, and I met with seamen of the Black Sea Fleet. My father was always respectful toward those of his comrades-in-arms who were killed and friendly toward those who survived.

Our village, Mymrino, was on the north face of the Orel-Kursk salient, via which our troops went into the offensive — there was fierce fighting.

By the end of the war, not many of the men were still in one piece. So I was raised — not just me, all the kids — by harsh reality, by the peasant community, and by Russian songs in the meadows. My father's state of health meant that he needed a helper. He taught nearly every subject at the local school, including the fundamentals of agriculture — everything except Russian and foreign languages and literature. But he couldn't do much in terms of a peasant's physical work. So even as a child I had to dig, sow, cultivate, and look after the bees. He was a natural-born beekeeper, very experienced, he helped nearly everyone in the village to keep bees. I was with him quite often as unskilled labor. That is how I grew tough.

In fact, even in later life I earned everything by the sweat of my brow, by my own hard work. My hands can still remember digging potatoes at the age of 12 or 13. I had a gelding called Chalyy [Roan], and a plow. They always used to warn me: Mind the shafts don't break loose and knock your teeth out! All these rural "colleges" of life: the fields, the meadows, the bees, the vegetable plot — it's an exceptionally good way to get tough. I had a good team. After the war the entire village was reorganized, there wasn't much left of it — obviously there weren't enough menfolk. Those there were, mainly worked as carpenters. We boys did all the auxiliary work, we covered the roofs with shingle. All of us, taking it in turns. There was only one form of payment: They would sit you at the table and feed you — well.

[Proshin] Your dad was called Andrey...

[Zyuganov] Mikhaylovich. And mom was Marfa Petrovna. She taught the elementary grades. In the village, you know, a teacher, a priest, or a soldier was always very well regarded — always! As for soldiers.... The girls used to look askance at any guy who didn't serve in the Army. The militiaman was well regarded, although in our village all the doors were "locked" with a broom. There was virtually no theft. People lived hard, but warmly, cozily, and with good will. That was the fundamental thing.

It was 15 km from where we lived to the rayon center and 30 to the station. I was regarded as a pretty good athlete, I represented the school. Fifteen kilometers on foot at one end of the day — you get up early, in two and a half hours you're there, you do your running, jumping, throwing, shooting — and back again. Thirty versts there and back, plus the competition — that was normal, for a country boy.

I walked to the station many times. I studied at the institute in Orel. Sometimes I'd go to the May Day demonstration — I loved it when we were all together, the whole institute: students, teachers — the mood was good, and then — off on the workers' Orel-Bryansk train. I got off at Khotynets station, slung my bag of presents on my shoulder, and — 30 versts — in five hours I was home.

[Proshin] What on earth did a poor student buy presents with?

[Zyuganov] I had a grant — I was a good student, I finished school with distinction. Every Saturday I used to work at the station: unloading freightcars, sweeping the tracks. We had a little team — we earned some money. Well, how could you go back to the village without presents? You'd take a nice ball for the kids, something for the old folks....

[Proshin] I dare say the girls looked askance, Gennadiy Andreyevich — a distinction at school, the institute, but what about the Army — did you pass it by?

[Zyuganov] What do you mean, pass it by? I did my service! My service was tough. I was in special reconnaissance, for combating nuclear and chemical weapons. That means you have to spend hours in a gas mask, working in a contaminated area, taking on huge burdens. We used to have an exercise that I don't think many people could physically withstand. You put on your gas mask, you have 10-12 kg of kit — an automatic weapon, grenades, a special protective rubber suit for working in so-called emergency situations, and — 7 km.... The test was judged on the first man and the last. That means you can't run to the "finishing line" alone, it's a group exercise. So while you're running — there were some guys with me who were a bit weaker — you have to grab somebody else's automatic weapon from him, because if he drops too far behind, none of you will pass.

[Proshin editorial interpolation] He fell silent for a few seconds, and then summed up:

[Zyuganov resumes] All this, put together, gave birth to the character I have. I have a first-class rating in the military triathlon, and I used to play volleyball. The trainer used to send me in when it looked as if the game was lost. That was one side of it. Then there's the other.

[Proshin editorial interpolation] He paused again.

[Zyuganov resumes] Nothing has been invented that is better than the ideals of friendship, good, justice, human brotherhood, industriousness — simple decency. And our ideals, in this respect, come from the Russian land, from our history and culture, from our faith. That generates staunchness.

[Proshin] Gennadiy Andreyevich, these ideals, it seems to me, are not just inherited in the genes, they are consolidated in the consciousness by the state of the environment one inhabits and the example of people who are particularly esteemed. Who were the good people who influenced you?

[Zyuganov] First of all my family, of course. On Apple Day [Transfiguration Day, 6 August] we used to have 30-40 people sitting down to table. In the Russian manner! In the Russian manner, my father used to send greetings to about 100 addresses. To friends he served with and fought with, and to near and distant relatives. This sense of community developed the corresponding qualities.

Then I have a very good opinion of our school. That's Mymrino Secondary, where there was always an excellent selection of teachers. It is on the edge of the oblast, but for some reason....

I had excellent physics and math teachers at the Orel Pedagogical Institute. I have very warm feelings for Aleksandr Stepanovich Khokhlov. He was the party raykom [rayon committee] first secretary who invited me into komsomol work from the institute. He was an exceptionally upright man. I had a splendid education from the statesmanlike Albert Petrovich Ivanov (he was first secretary on our gorkom [city party committee] when I was second secretary), who could see far ahead. Ideas and plans for the development of the city, modernization.... Together, we built more in one five-year plan than the present authorities could dream of. Just imagine, a city with a population of 300,000 building 200,000 square meters of housing in a year.

[Proshin] Very many politicians and personalities in science, culture, and technology originally came from the countryside. What does the countryside mean to you and how do you see its present situation?

[Zyuganov] In general, I believe that the source of our strength and might is in the countryside, in the land. In traditions, in friendship, in respect for the working person and adherence to our roots.

You see, all these overseas priests and preachers are after one thing: to tear up our last roots, the roots of this friendship, our links with the land....

Incidentally, the present authorities have never once succeeded in deceiving the person whose place is on the land — not once! I was stunned when, studying the results of voting on various questions, I noticed that the countryside was always against: against the presidency, shock therapy, against this Constitution, the current course. It was never once fooled!

Our legendary hero Nikita Selyaninovich [Nikita "Countryman"] turned out to be the wisest of all. Because those authorities are now taking vengeance on the countryside and frankly trying to destroy it. They give the countryside nothing. No equipment, no wages, no seed, no fertilizers. They jeer at us.

They talk about the market.

I went to see Vasiliy Starodubtsev — what a fine kolkhoz! Even in these conditions they've harvested an average of 50 quintals of grain [per hectare] and 400-500 quintals of potatoes, and as much as 1,000 quintals of feed beet! They do marvelous work! But their milk is bought for 1,000 rubles [R] a liter, and sold in Moscow for R5,000. And they talk about the market! It's daylight robbery!

Nonetheless I am sure our countryside will survive. What reserves of strength! Think about it. Whatever they do to it, however they treat it, it holds on and keeps on working. It works for nothing, solely at the inner prompting of its own conscience.

I was struck by something when I studied the biographies of our commanding officers who secured the victory in the Great Patriotic War. Nearly all of them were born in remote Russian villages. That is, the land that feeds us ensures the soundness of our character, its firmness and courage. And even now you will notice that the Army, in terms of its composition, remains a worker-peasant army. And it is holding on, with its last ounce of strength, as the state's most important institution.

[Proshin] Do you see any way out of the terrible situation they have put the countryside in?

[Zyuganov] You know, the Agrarian Union, which is headed by Vasiliy Aleksandrovich Starodubtsev, has a very good program. We actually wrote in our election platform: That the Agrarian Union's program for the revival of the countryside be implemented. That is to say, we are adopting it as the main document for our own policy in the countryside. We see the way out primarily in the establishment of parity prices for urban and rural output. Secondly: strong state support for the countryside. After all, that is done in all countries. The EU spends every second dollar on supporting its peasants and farmers — this is the worldwide practice: to help and guarantee sales of output. But what happens here?

Down in Orel Oblast there are tonnes of butter lying around. They've grown potatoes, and nobody wants them. I was down in Krasnodar — it looks like they're going to plow the tomatoes back in; Stavropol Kray has produced good wool, but they're telling them: spin it yourselves. If they buy it at all, it's for the price of five bottles of Narzan [mineral water]. That's why support is needed.

The land that feeds us is exhausted. I was in Belarus recently, and there I met with the leaders of the Communist Parties of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. I asked: How are things in Ukraine? After all, they used to harvest 50 million tonnes of grain a year! This year it was 29 million. And only one-third of it fit for food purposes. Just imagine, they have been given advice by the experts to the effect that if they go on treating the land that way, it will be absolutely disastrous. The land is being depleted, yet mineral fertilizers are sold to the West, to the East — to anyone you care to name, except their own peasants. The prices of transport costs and power supplies are so inflated that they are stifling the entire social structure: kindergartens, stores, consumer services, and so forth. I was in the Far East: They catch fish, and it's beyond their power to send it to the Urals or beyond the Urals. The price of rail shipments is such that a can of food delivered here is worth its weight in gold. So the fishermen are forced to sell their catch to China, Japan, Korea — to anyone you care to name, except their own people. Yet look how the stores here are packed with all kinds of "Snickers" bars and other unsuitable products, while in the countryside the shelves of the stores are just empty.

People are given nothing but drink. The most available product today is vodka. You can't find the money for a pair of boots or a suit. Going visiting is now beyond the powers of nearly all country dwellers. They can't even go to a close relative's wedding or funeral. Tickets cost crazy money. Don't even dream about a health resort, don't even think about sending your child somewhere for treatment or studies, or simply for a rest. We think this is an appalling policy, and it should be radically changed.

[Proshin] Let's imagine you were premier or president — which of the rural leaders would you summon to join your team?

[Zyuganov] We have a great many sensible people on the land. I find Vasiliy Starodubtsev highly sympathetic. A man who thinks big, with a strong character. Look how they rammed him from all sides — yet he stood firm, he held his ground. They tried to leave him to rot in prison, they set all kinds of curs onto his farm. On his farm, I saw, people's faces are different, kids' faces are different, there is a different mood.

I think my fellow countryman Yegor Stroyev knows the countryside well. He knows how to work, how to find up-to-date solutions. There's Nikolay Kondratenko in the Kuban. A strong economic manager, on first-name terms with the land, so to speak. Mikhail Lapshin, Ivan Yakushin — very sensible, strong, peasant leaders.

In short, the countryside is holding on, and has somehow survived, thanks to the fact that we have many talented economic leaders. If we make use of them and support them.... We aren't opposed to different forms of management, we aren't against them — we welcome them! But it must be remembered that our entire infrastructure is in the kolkhoz and the sovkhoz. What's the use of destroying it, how is the private farmer then going to develop tomorrow?

And what are you doing to the private farmer? One brick costs R500, R700, R1,000. How can anyone build anything?... So our view is: Give maximum support to all who work on the land, create the most favorable conditions for that.

[Proshin] Gennadiy Andreyevich, in the election battles the Communists, the Agrarians, and their leaders are inevitably subjected to the cruelest onslaughts — sustained attacks are being made. Their slogans are cunningly borrowed, their program principles twisted, their names sullied. How is the ordinary voter supposed to find his way through this confusion and make the right choice?

[Zyuganov] I think they will make a choice very simply. Who are the Communists today? They are those who continue the traditions of Aleksey Stakhanov, Pasha Angelina [Soviet tractor driver], Georgiy Zhukov, Igor Kurchatov — they are millions of honest, decent working people. Who are those who are attacking them today? They are the very same party bosses who used to sit in one set of offices and have now moved to another. The very same! The Yeltsins, Chernomyrdins, and their henchmen in science and journalism. Why are they attacking us? Because we have remained true to the working person who works on the land or at the machine tool, who teaches in class, stands at a drawing-board, or performs an operation in a hospital. Why have we remained true to them? Because we believe that labor is the mainstay of everything. If you don't respect the working person, but create the conditions for the crook, the thief, and the drunkard, then you are deliberately ruining the country.

As for Yeltsin, he always speaks first and thinks later. Then his aides come along and explain what he meant. This wasn't the first time, or the last. He used to call himself the guarantor of the Constitution and individual rights, but at the moment he's guaranteeing lawlessness, drunkenness, and the despoliation and humiliation of his country. Unprecedented humiliation of the working person!

[Proshin] Although he was supposed to be a zealous Communist in the past, he recently spoke with "sterling" hatred about the present Communists, and urged people to rally against them....

[Zyuganov] It would have been much worse if he had praised us. We have reacted in the State Duma, and we'll take a number of other measures too. A person in his position should weigh every word. We regard his attack on the Communists as a direct attempt to set the media onto us. And they were not slow to seize the bone he tossed them and start their vulgar howling. Even Kiselev, an intelligent man, hurried to obey instructions. Where are they going, in such a hurry? They might trip up.

[Proshin] Many of our fellow citizens believe that the elections will do no good, that the authorities will try to falsify the results of the vote by any means they can — they have something to lose. What do you say about that? How should people act? How can falsification be ruled out?

[Zyuganov] True, there are possibilities for wrecking the elections, for all kinds of provocations, etc. What we are afraid of is the elections being thwarted, because if the elections do not take place and democratic means of changing the situation are not utilized, the situation will get worse and it will be very difficult to keep it under control. After all, millions are unemployed! The number of hungry people alone is 15 million — that is their own official figure.

As for monitoring [of the elections], I think we will cooperate with everyone here, including the Agrarian Party. We have already had a rehearsal in Bryansk. Five to seven people for each polling place, and you have total monitoring: from the moment the ballot box is sealed, to the end of counting. Under the law, our observers are entitled to be present at the polling place all day and to receive a copy of the protocol at the end.

Last time, there were gross violations. I recently saw an American electronic intelligence report — according to their estimates, 9.2 million votes were registered in the referendum on the Constitution. Which means it would not have got through on any pretext. Therefore we call on patriotic forces to exercise monitoring, and we hope to create a broad movement for honest and fair elections which various parties will join. They virtually all have an interest in honest elections, except for "Their Home" and "Democratic Russia."

[Proshin] Will the Congress of Russian Communities support this movement?

[Zyuganov] We are holding consultations. We are in favor of creating a broad people's patriotic bloc in the future Duma which would propose a program, a team, and ways of overcoming the crisis.

[Proshin] May it come true! And then, maybe, the soul that is plunged into gloom may burst into song once more. Incidentally, do you sing? (He [Zyuganov] laughs.)

[Zyuganov] I do sing, but badly. But I love singing. And I always sing in company. Russian folk songs, Soviet songs. Once I was driving with a friend, and we had a competition, singing chastushki [short folk ditties, often satirical]. In the village, the women often used to have chastushka contests with each other. I used to sit there as a boy and listen until evening came — 100, 200 chastushki, and my memory, as a child, was uncluttered, I was receptive. We drove for 30 km competing — he would begin one, I would reply with another, we reached the station, and we hadn't finished the contest.

[Proshin] What about your amusements and enthusiasms in general?

[Zyuganov] I love reading, I like to walk. To go for walks. Soccer, hockey, I used to play volleyball well. I like to travel. For instance, I have enjoyed traveling to the country's most memorable places. I think anyone who hasn't traveled the length of the Volga, our mother river, doesn't really know Russia. Our fatherland is rich and boundless. And long-suffering....

[Proshin] Do you have many friends?

[Zyuganov] One shouldn't have a large number of friends. But God has given me plenty of comrades. I'm still friends with the guys I served with in special reconnaissance. I recently met with Genka Studennikov in Kurgan. And with Nikolay Golenko in Omsk. I have many good friends and comrades at the Orel Pedagogical Institute and in Orel. I am grateful to them. When the hard times came, none of them betrayed me. Whereas the Moscow elite passed by on the other side of the road, afraid to offer their hand to the chief oppositionist. My fellow countrymen were remarkably firm and constant. They invited me for the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the battle of Orel and Kursk. They were not even bothered by the fact that Yeltsin was going. They didn't just invite me, they gave me the opportunity to offer greetings at all the events, to take part. The guys, the students I used to play the quiz competitions with, recently sent me a cassette. They congratulated me on my name day and recorded all the songs we had written and sung together. So I value friendship very highly. That kind of friendship — sincere, unselfish.

[Proshin] Presumably they'll turn out for the elections and vote for the Communists?

[Zyuganov] Not just them, but their relatives, friends, neighbors, acquaintances. And there are more and more of these supporters. Nowadays, wherever you go, the attitude is good. life itself is teaching them, people can see that we are still devoted to them.

[Proshin] Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev was almost a fellow countryman of yours...

[Zyuganov] What do you mean, "almost"? Bryansk Oblast wasn't formed until 1944, before that a large part of it belonged to Orel.

[Proshin] Well then, Fedor Ivanovich wrote: "Russia cannot be understood by intelligence alone/She cannot be measured by the common yardstick..."

All together now: "Her need is special — Russia can only be believed in."

And here is my own fellow countryman, Sergey Yesenin: "But when all across the planet..." All together: "Tribal enmity passes away/When lies and sorrow disappear/I will sing with all my being as a poet/To one-sixth part of the earth/That bears the brief name of 'Rus' [Russia]!"

That isn't a question. It's the main thing that you and I have been talking about. Do you want to say anything in connection with this?

[Zyuganov] I want to say this. My own land of Orel is the third Mecca in literature. After Moscow and Leningrad. It was there that Turgenev, Leskov, and Tyutchev worked, Prishvin, [illegible]nin, Apukhtin.... I tell you frankly, for instance, there are some chapters in my own life...

[Proshin] ...That you are proud of?

[Zyuganov] I did everything to restore Turgenev's estate at Spasskoye-Lutovinovo. When they were restoring the house, I worked there. I'm not saying this to boast. I am happy to have been involved. In Orel, they erected a monument to Leskov and his characters. The writer sits there outside the cathedral, opposite the high school where he studied — it's a magnificent monument! The work of the Orekhovs, father and son. A fine monument to Ivan Bunin has just been unveiled. That's the work of that real Russian patriot, Vyacheslav Klykov.

In my homeland they treat writers well. The administration supports them, financially and morally, and so do the public, the whole population. The best artistic traditions continue.... [interview ends]

The traditions continue. With much effort and great exertion. In the sphere of culture, the peasants' everyday life, and all aspects of our life. Gennadiy Zyuganov, the Communists' leader, is in favor of the preservation of the people's best principles throughout Russia's fields, and in favor of anything new that is good and will benefit the working person. And there can be no doubt: People will see the worth of that.

Forward, Russia! Leader Describes Political Aims

MM2811101095 Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Vladislavlev, "one of the leaders of the Forward, Russia! electoral bloc": "Forward, Russia!.. Where and How?" — first paragraph is TRUD introduction; footnote states that article is "published within the framework of the election campaign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia has reached an important milestone — the parliamentary and presidential elections. Now is the time to sum up the honest results of the road that has been traveled and to formulate at long last a clear and realistic program capable of rallying society and determining the fate of the country. Not only the results of the elections themselves but ultimately the success of the historic transformations that have been launched depend on how competently, responsibly, and, most important of all, thoughtfully and calmly we do this.

What Is Happening to Us?

A very great deal. We are now living in a different country. A great distance has been covered, albeit with tremendous difficulties. However, the progress in the right direction can by no means serve to justify the way in which this is being done — dirtily, monstrously, ruthlessly, and sometimes with bloody cruelty. Incredible difficulties that have pushed a considerable proportion of the population below the poverty line have befallen absolutely unprepared people. Corruption and crime of unprecedented scale, cynicism, and impunity have arisen amid the scum of the changes. The lack of any tangible improvements for the majority of the population after so many years of torment, hope, and disappointment is providing food for thought over and over again even for those who realize the inevitability of transformations: Why is this happening? Why are we paying such a crazy price in the name of a righteous goal, are the colossal sacrifices justified? Do the leaders have a clear strategy and tactic for the future?

The mistakes must be acknowledged. From the outset the country's political leadership has been unable to clearly formulate the aims of the reforms and to determine the time frame and sequence of actions and has not pondered the question of the price that is being paid for what is being done and people's readiness and ability to endure excessive strains. As a result of this various processes entirely unfamiliar to Russia exploded at the same time.

Another fateful mistake was that, while destroying the former system, the reformers destroyed the most important attributes of the state and drove away skilled cadres, which had long been prepared for transformations and essentially predetermined them. The result: The state effectively lost levers for influence over the processes that were taking place and lost control over them.

The aforementioned miscalculations have not made it possible to form within society a political force or forces capable of really supporting the reforms and channeling them in a sensible direction. Chaos has developed in society, and bitterness, lies, and excessive personal ambitions are flourishing. The result of this has been a loss of trust in the authorities, political leaders, and state institutions. The most important question of all has arisen in this situation: Was there any point at all in clambering out of the old familiar rut and starting on the whole shebang? Nostalgia for the past is developing and is becoming a serious factor in current political life. It is being cranked up and fueled for the sake of personal ambitions even by those who realize perfectly well that there can be no return to the past and there is nothing to seek there.

In my view, the country had no choice. The old economy did not work. We had long since ceased to be a member of the group of modern states. "Superpower" status was maintained only by nuclear might. We paid for it with an exceptionally low living standard. **Can a power be great if its people are poor?** People were deprived of the opportunity to develop, display initiative, and live as they chose. Regions, cities, and enterprises lacked those opportunities.

Let us be honest: At the time wasn't everybody literally crying out about this, including those who are now rousing people with calls for a return to the past? Harsh regimentation is being replaced by the rules of normal life, as followed by the whole world. The process is tricky and involves tremendous difficulties. This is natural. Even in an ideal situation it takes time, patience, and privation to switch a huge country such as ours into a new condition. There are no miracles. Nevertheless, we had no alternative and still have none. Surely those who began and are implementing the reforms realize that it is now more important than ever to embark on constant dialogue with society and explain to it in simple terms the logic of their own intentions and actions; to speak with people frankly, in a human way, and admit the mistakes. After all, direct, man-to-man discussion is more valued in Russia than anywhere. People will respond to it no matter how difficult it is for them.

What Are the Options?

In principle there are three. The first is to continue the current course or, to be more accurate, the rudderless drifting downstream, in the hope that life itself will teach us. I am afraid that once again it will not instruct us so much as teach us a lesson. It is also clear that today society will not accept any continuation of the unpopular drifting. It is increasingly resolutely and insistently advocating a change of course. Disregard of this demand may lead either to social explosion or, no less dangerous, to indifference, inward-looking attitudes, and people retiring into their shell.

The second — even some respectable theoreticians are talking about it now — is to forestall the impending storm and to stage something like a "pink Thermidor," in other words, the forcible ending of the reforms. This is the most primitively but, unfortunately, traditionally Russian solution, which is its attraction and its danger. We simply cannot embark on this road again. There are no half-tones in Russia: Pink will instantly turn into blood red! On top of the huge price that has already been paid, we will begin to pay a price in human lives. And from the economic viewpoint such a development means an immediate abrupt return to the past. This would put Russia on the road to nowhere and would merely play into the hands of those who constantly insult Russia by claiming that it cannot be reformed.

That leaves only the third option — a thorough adjustment of the current course while retaining a firm and consistent line of implementing reforms. We must not repeat a mistake that has already been made once, we must clearly define the strategic priority of Russian politics today and formulate political aims for each of the processes that are creating a new Russia. All this must be done while taking into account the fact that the processes have gone a long way and have gained momentum, powerful forces and interest groups have taken shape around them, positive trends have emerged, and shortcomings and difficulties have been revealed. They are now developing independently, have become locomotives of change, and are gradually making it irreversible. We cannot permit either vandalism or abrupt movements in relation to these processes! On the contrary, we can and must rely only on what lives and works. The last option differs from the previous ones by virtue of the possibility of preventing a split in society and consolidating it.

Choice and Consequences

In order to decide our future actions, we must ask ourselves a number of very difficult questions and provide clear answers to them. Society must be clearly aware of what it can make its choice from, what it can choose, and what price it will have to pay for its choice.

So how do we want to see the future Russia?

Prosperous? That is, a comfortable home for everyone? If so, the **strategic political priority for the new Russia is now to concentrate as much as possible and carry through to completion the transformations that have been begun** and to transfer the country to a market economy compatible with the world economic system. This means creating a legislative, political, economic, and social infrastructure enabling the state to function normally and people to acquire peace and prosperity.

The fate of Russia itself and the future of its relations with the countries of our Commonwealth and with the world as a whole depend only on what we are like and how we deal with our internal problems. This certainly does not mean Russia's self-isolation, merely its temporary thorough centering.

If we opt for people's prosperity, we must abandon the persisting "superpower status" syndrome and bring our foreign policy ambitions into line with real potential. Global pretensions meant impermissibly low living standards for our people. This is why we asked ourselves "Is a power great if its people are poor?" and came to understand that only a strong and rich Russia will be a reliable partner responsible for the fate of the world, rather than a bogey presented to the world.

Part of an advanced, politically stable world? In that case we will have to create our own version of the democratic system based on universal democratic values. A system that will reliably preclude any return to totalitarianism or the establishment of a dictatorship.

Humane? That is, a country geared to people's needs and requirements, not to ideological dogmas and social utopia? In that case we need not only to allow people themselves to develop and assume responsibility for their own lives and the prosperity of their families but also to give them practical assistance in realizing this opportunity. After all, even under the most favorable circumstances it will take at least 10-15 years for the country to emerge from crisis. By no means everyone will be able to hold out for such a long time. People must be taught the basic principles of survival in the new situation and helped to acquire new trades and protect them from administrative arbitrariness and criminal chaos. And, of course, the state must ensure a worthy life for those who have already reached the end of their working lifetime and retired on pension, and also for those who are unable for any reason to support themselves.

Humaneness also presupposes providing people with work and fair remuneration permitting a decent life.

Do we want Russia to exist as an integral and strong Federation? In that case we must swiftly show concern for resolving the problem of the equality of all Federation members, for an asymmetrical Federation cannot be a stable Federation. Nor can we postpone the solution of another key question — the demarcation of powers between the center and the regions. At the same time we need to elaborate a program for providing preferential assistance to the regions with the best conditions for becoming, as it were, locomotives of economic growth capable not only of raising themselves up but also of hauling neighboring oblasts forward.

All this will certainly require an increase in budget expenditure. But this must be accepted in the present situation. Unless we do all this, people at local level will begin to resolve the problems facing them in their own way.

Finally, let us ask ourselves **how we want to build relations with our new neighbors who used to be alongside us in the united Union?** Clearly, the only course is to do business with them on the basis of international law while respecting their sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. The emphasis should be placed on developing economic links and contacts in all spheres in every possible way. We should also remember that Russia will have to play the role of economic donor in the Commonwealth for a long time yet. The new economic realities will unfailingly be followed by new political relations. Any attempt to do the reverse will inevitably lead to the growth of nationalism and mutual alienation.

We are rightly and with every justification proud of our spiritual heritage and Russia's considerable contribution to world civilization. In order to remain among the leading cultural centers, Russia must more rapidly overcome its economic difficulties and thereby create favorable opportunities for the renewal and blossoming of the nation's spiritual life. Russia's future and its place within the family of peoples depend in the most direct fashion on whether we are able to create an effective economy.

Concerning any aspect of Russia's future, we have been able to see for ourselves that it is precisely the economy that holds the keys to its revival. But it is precisely the economy that contains most problems. This is why it is so important to find the correct approach in economic strategy and tactics.

In my view, *the political aim in the economic sphere is to create an effective socially oriented market economy that integrates itself step by step with the world economic system. Two limiting conditions should be imposed on this aim: Any further decline in living standards is impermissible, and the slump in production must be halted.*

The most important thing is to have a considered, well thought-out economic strategy. It is impossible to absolutize any goals or methods of economic policy. For instance, it is obvious that without production growth enterprises will not make profits and pay taxes and working people's wages. The budget will not receive income and will not be able to pay out pensions and grants, support education and health care, or maintain the army and the police. People will be unable to purchase goods, and enterprises will be unable to find customers. Because of the shortage of funds the government will hike taxes and kill the last goose that is still laying any eggs. On the other hand, if the state begins to print more unsupported money and spurs inflation to even greater heights, the circulating capital of enterprises and the population's savings will be devalued and interest rates will go sky high.

All economic processes are interconnected, and there is no beginning or end here. Order must be imposed in all spheres at once:

— there must be a reduction in the tax burden in order to provide incentives for production, including the abolition of the regulation of wages in order to stimulate the population's purchasing power (demand will be a spur to production);

— there must be the most rigorous control over the use of budget funds and preferential loans, which currently do not reach those who need them and are failing to produce the necessary results;

— there must be a real reduction in inflation, which will reduce the cost of credit and at the same time east the problem of circulating capital;

— there must be an end to the ridiculous games with the currency exchange rate, which are making our exports uncompetitive.

The most important thing in the economy today is to impose elementary order, to end the squandering of resources, to wage an effective war against corruption, and to check all decisions against the criterion of effectiveness, social significance, and technological promise.

To Want and To Be Able To Negotiate

Of course, the guarantee of success in this matter is the creation of the necessary political mechanisms and an appropriate political atmosphere.

I supported the president's initiative on forming two electoral blocs that were supposed to form the kernel of future parties. But two mistakes were made in implementing it. The first is that the blocs should not have been personalized, although Viktor Chernomyrdin and Ivan Rybkin are authoritative people. The second is that this should not have been done by directive. As a result a good idea has been discredited, and the process of the consolidation of parties has effectively been set back. We are faced with several dozen blocs and total confusion in the elections. This is a dead end. One way or another, the way out of it lies in forming a few strong parties.

Essentially dead ends remain in the constitutional and legislative spheres. They have arisen because of the absence of or collisions between laws, the imperfection of the constitution, and above all because of a reluctance to consider it and because of disrespect for the most important state institutions. The principle of the separation of powers has still not been carried through and there is still confusion in the distribution of functions between management organs both at the center and in the regions.

A by no means theoretical question arises here: How is the state being run and by whom if democratic management mechanisms are only taking shape? It appears that the presidential structure alone is running everything. Is this not the reason for a considerable proportion of the current difficulties? Is this not the reason why there is a growing hankering for a pink Thermidor? That is the ultimate question.

Let us try to investigate. To some extent the existing situation can be justified by citing the protracted transitional period and the complexities and novelty of the processes that are under way. But responsibility for this situation is by no means borne by the president alone; everybody who has been or is involved in politics must share the responsibility. And now everybody must consider how to emerge from the extremely complex situation into which we have driven ourselves.

There is only one thing that can counter the threat of a backlash — the readiness and ability to negotiate. Everybody must negotiate: party leaders, the leaders of the various branches of power, the center with the regions, and so forth. Today this is the most important thing. Dialogue must be conducted within the framework of the existing realities, that is, while carefully preserving the few things that in any way maintain stability in society.

Above all we must distinguish between the individual and the institution of the presidency. Various attitudes toward the individual are possible, but we must not destabilize the institution of the presidency, since in Russia this institution is virtually the only factor making for political stability. In electing the president we also mandate him to make the most difficult decisions. Each person has his own understanding of the good of the homeland, and no one can lay claim to the ultimate truth. The president is in the worst position here: We can talk, but he has to act.

The behavior of the head of state can be criticized, of course. But we undermine the foundations of the state and the stability of society when we stage political "confrontations" over particular decisions by the president or else threaten him with inevitable reprisals. This is simply crazy. Russia is probably the only country in the world to treat its past and its own leaders with such cruelty and disrespect. Russian history no longer contains any czar, general secretary, and now apparently president who has not been dragged through the mire! We must put a stop to this shameful tradition. Fate visited the czars and general secretaries upon us, but we chose the president ourselves!

The establishment of a civilized tradition and normal political dialogue will become possible only if we are able to combine legitimacy with common sense. The criterion of this during the transitional period is the ability to run the state, the level of political culture, and an indicator of whether the country is traveling the democratic path. In my view, this is the only possible logic of the transitional period capable of creating a normal political atmosphere in society.

Constant dialogue and the quest for accord and understandings do not mean that the authorities are in any way impotent. On the contrary, by elaborating a strategy and obtaining the people's support, the state acquires the legal and moral right to defend power by every means. Only thus will the authorities regain society's trust and be able to act with confidence.

Baltic Military Commanders Resolve To Form Joint HQ

LD2911212495 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The meeting of the commanders of the Baltic countries' armed forces has ended. The commanders of the armed forces announced at a news conference that an agreement had been reached to create a joint Baltic headquarters, which next year will conduct training programs within the Partnership for Peace. A permanent Baltic battalion staff comprising nine people will also be created. The participants in the talks expressed readiness to be involved in the peacekeeping forces. The Estonian peacekeeping forces could be incorporated in the Nordic unit and the Lithuanians and Latvians within the Danish battalion. At the talks they also informally discussed the possibility of creating a Baltic military union. The commanders of the Baltic countries' armies support this idea; however, this is an issue within the competence not of the army, but of governments and politicians. The conclusion was voiced that one must keep in mind the tragic experience of 1939. The Baltic countries, in contrast to Finland, did not resist the aggression of the USSR and were not united. Such a mistake must not be repeated, emphasized the commander of the Estonian armed forces, Aleksander Einseln.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 30 Nov

LD3011084895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0755 GMT 30 Nov 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 30 (Itar-Tass) — ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA on the situation in Chechnya.

The newspaper carries a signed article about the election chances of Doku Zavgayev and Dzhokhar Dudayev. The writer of the article recalls that President Boris Yeltsin received Zavgayev when in the hospital.

"If Zavgayev turned out to be among those a meeting with whom may not be postponed, it means that he becomes a key figure in Russian calculations and, its seems, great hopes for a peaceful resolution of the Chechnya conflict are now associated with him," the article says.

"It is now clear to everyone that there are two views of ways to resolve the problem — through the use of force and a peaceful one. They tear Chechnya asunder into two feuding camps."

It is difficult to say where these two mutually exclusive approaches predominate to a greater extent — in Groznyy or Moscow. But the logic of the development of the Chechnya conflict indicates unambiguously: the forces' stand-off brought forth Dudayev and is the nutrient medium that feeds his influence".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on soldiers' refusal to participate in combat operations in Chechnya.

According to the newspaper, which refers to the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office of Russia, more than 2,500 soldiers have refused to participate in combat operations in Chechnya. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against 500 of them, Sergey Yushenkov said in the State Duma.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on the results of the NATO Defence Ministers' meeting with the participation of a Russian delegation led by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev.

The newspaper emphasises that the chief result of the talks in Brussels is in the fact that "Russia will participate in a peace implementation operation in Bosnia on a par with NATO, and not subordinated to it".

A compromise agreement in principle was reached about Russia's involvement in political control over the conduct of the operation by a multinational force in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A special consultative council, consisting of representatives of NATO and Russia, will be set up. It will meet regularly at ambassadorial level and, if necessary, at a higher level. An official decision on the setting up of such a committee is to be taken in the near future by the political leadership of Russia and NATO.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI runs a summary of the Russian Defence Minister's speech at the NATO Defence Ministers' meeting.

IZVESTIYA on reasons for the dismissal of Russian Health Minister Eduard Nechayev.

"What were the personal efforts of the one who stood at the helm of Russia's health services? They were contradictory, chaotic, and quite often at variance with law...

"Attempts to close down leading medical research centres, which are known far beyond the country, on the plea of changing their specialisation and reorganisation.

"Misguided purchases of a substandard analginum substance in Bulgaria (while it was possible to produce a good substance at a plant in the town of Usolye-Sibirsky) and of an expired anti-diphteria medicinal preparation which was impossible to use.

"This cannot be described otherwise than a real war against diabetics, who were being imposed a swine insuline, which did not pass clinical testsand which had already brought about a lot of grave complications. Disorder in the spending of finances by the subordinates, with the Minister's failing to show a principled attitude".

IZVESTIYA on tax legislation breaches.

The newspaper reports that since the beginning of this year Russia's Tax Police Department has uncovered more than 9,000 offences and breaches of tax legislation in particularly large amount (as against slightly more than 8,300 throughout last year) and about 6,000,000 million roubles exacted to be returned to the budget. The trade and purchsing sector accounts for the largest number of breaches — 46 per cent — while the production sphere accounts for 22 per cent of breaches.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA on delays in the payment of wages to coal miners.

The newspaper carries an article by Yuriy Malyshev, General Director of the Rosugol company. He points out that "the delay in the payment of wages to coal miners has been brought about in almost 80 per cent of cases by the indebtedness of coal users whose debts, as of November 1, amounted to 3,900,000 million roubles."

"The users' overall debts to the coal industry enterprises in all types of activities amounted to 8,900,000 million roubles as of October 1, this year. The repayment of wage arrears will require 899,000 million roubles, out of which 709,500 million roubles are owed by coal users".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Views Grachev Report to NATO Council

MM3011151095 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by special correspondent Aleksandr Pelts: "Russia Will Take Part in Bosnian Peacekeeping Operation. On Equal Terms With NATO, Not Under Its Command. That Is the Result of the Russian Federation Defense Minister's Talks in Brussels"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels — No problem or issue is insoluble when there is a desire to solve it, Russian Federation Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev declared as he was leaving NATO Headquarters in Brussels. He had every reason to say this. Because his two days there had contained intensive work by no means confined to resolving the problem of political control over the operation of the multinational forces in Bosnia. Essentially Pavel Grachev and his colleagues from the 16 North Atlantic alliance states elaborated the mechanism that in the future will serve as the basis for a new architecture of all-European security. It is obvious to everybody today that this mechanism must include the entire system of relations between Russia and NATO.

A compromise agreement on Russia's participation in political control over the implementation of the multinational forces' operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was reached in principle as a result of the conference between the NATO countries' defense ministers and the Russian Federation defense minister (which was preceded by Pavel Grachev's talks with his U.S. counterpart William Perry). A special consultative committee consisting of representatives of NATO and Russia will be set up. It will meet regularly at the ambassador level, and where necessary at a higher level. The official decision to set up this committee is to be adopted in the very near future by the political leadership of Russia and NATO.

At a joint press conference with Pavel Grachev Sergio Balanzino, NATO acting secretary general, stressed that the creation of this consultative committee will enable Russia to express its position as the operation in Bosnia progresses and thereby to exercise political control over the operation. Furthermore, U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry stated that this mechanism will enable Russia to keep totally abreast of the situation and to put forward recommendations to the NATO Council. Russia will influence all decisions concerning its troops' operations.

So now this compromise solution has been found, it is possible to begin detailed planning of the operation. Pavel Grachev disclosed that the first stage of the operation, which will consist of disengaging the troops of the opposing sides, will involve a Russian brigade of 1,500 servicemen that will be deployed in the Posavina corridor, where it will cooperate with the U.S. 1st Armored Division. On 26 November Russian officers headed by brigade commander Colonel Aleksandr Lentsov had already arrived at the U.S. division's position in order to clarify questions of cooperation. Furthermore, as Pavel Grachev stressed, "the Russian brigade is autonomous and does not form part of the U.S. division."

During the second stage, which consists of restoring Bosnia's infrastructure, Russia will assign a further 1,000 servicemen to a joint U.S.-Russian brigade. Finally, Russia is also leaving one peacekeeping battalion in Eastern Slavonia.

An extremely important point is the fact that a security agreement between Russia and NATO enabling our representatives to take part in the detailed planning of the operation was signed recently. "We received permission to work with secret NATO documents," the Russian minister noted. This marks a new level of mutual trust.

According to Colonel General Leontiy Shevtsov, responsible for planning and leadership of the whole operation on the Russian side, general rules for the use of force must be elaborated right now. After all, it is not a combat operation — its aim is to fulfill the peace agreement. This truly unique operation, Gen. Shevtsov believes, may serve as a "model for ensuring security in Europe." That is why it is so important to elaborate general rules for operations at both the tactical and strategic levels. Both soldiers and top planning bodies must be guided by these plans.

Another important point is the creation of joint "military-civilian commissions" that will include both representatives of the peacekeeping forces stationed in the region in question and representatives of all parties to the conflict. These commissions, which will investigate all cases of violations of the peace agreements, will make it possible to ensure that decisions are impartial, Gen. Shevtsov believes.

Moreover, it has been decided to abandon the division of zones and sectors under the control of the multinational forces. Shevtsov stressed that there is a need to "have one foot on one territory and the other on the one next door. This will enable the commander to probe all problems impartially and to influence all processes."

Of course, it would be wrong to make out that all the problems have now been solved. For instance, it is already known that some of our parliamentarians have hastened to express a negative attitude toward the decisions adopted in Brussels. I would note that U.S. legislators will speak out only after they have heard what the heads of the diplomatic and defense departments and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have to say.

On Tuesday evening Russian Federation Defense Minister Army Gen. Pavel Grachev delivered a detailed report to the NATO Council. The report is now being keenly commented on in the Western mass media. And this is no accident, for questions of European security, and in particular the settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, will be for Russia and NATO a serious test of the capacity for cooperation and partnership and a test of strength for our relations.

The hotbed of tension in the Balkans raises with particular acuteness the task of most speedily elaborating an all-embracing model of European security for the 21st century.

Russia proceeds from the premise that this must be a process of the gradual conversion of all existing European and transatlantic cooperation structures into mutually complementary components of an integrated security system. This applies to the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], the European Union, the Council of Europe, the CIS, the Western European Union, and NATO. As for military cooperation within the framework of the future security system, it must be directed toward ensuring that the national armed forces of all member states are gradually turned into elements of an integrated defense instrument for all-European security. Precisely a defense instrument, Army Gen. Grachev stressed. This means that the common force reserve would be used only in response to real threats to the new Euro-Atlantic community, according to the relevant UN and OSCE mandate. Partnership between Russia and NATO is called upon to be an integral component of the new security system — not purely formal and rhetorical partnership, but a partnership based on the real needs of the post-confrontation period.

Russia's political and military leadership and public have seen the "Study on NATO Enlargement." In this study, the defense minister noted, we found no convincing justification for the proposed enlargement of the bloc. Nor does it contain a proper analysis of the prospects for European security. From our viewpoint, the study raises more questions than it suggests answers. For instance, key questions like ways of strengthening universal security, the OSCE's role in maintaining stability, and measures to oppose the appearance of new demarcation lines in Europe are set out only in the most general terms in the study. The theme of the transformation of NATO in line with the new European realities is ignored, but on the other hand the idea of the possibility of basing foreign armed forces on the territory of the new bloc members and even of siting nuclear weapons there can be traced quite clearly. It is stipulated in advance that new members must be prepared to allow their territory to be used for exercises by the NATO Allied Forces.

All this, in the opinion of the Russian military leader, will mean a buildup of the bloc's military presence on our western borders. In other words, new strategic realities will emerge — the remilitarization of European security and the priority of strong-arm approaches over political approaches — to which we will be forced to make an appropriate response.

That is not a road consonant with the realities of the new era, the minister remarked.

In particular, on questions of the integration of countries belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States Russia proceeds from the premise that the creation of a collective security system within the CIS context would be a constructive contribution to building a new system of all-European security based on the non-bloc principle. It could also serve as a bridge between Europe and the Asia-Pacific in the process of establishing a future continental security system on the Eurasian mainland.

The Commonwealth's main task in the joint security sphere is today the speediest settlement of conflicts in the post-Soviet area. The possibility of the spread of these conflicts threatens not only the security of the CIS countries but European and global security as a whole.

Common interests are also served by the preservation of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe, which is an important element in the all-European security system. In terms of general parameters Russia has fulfilled its commitments on reducing conventional arms. Pavel Grachev expressed the conviction that we are now also on the right road in solving the flank problem. He stressed that its settlement is primarily a question of ensuring the viability of the CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] Treaty and not only a question of meeting Russia's concerns, although ultimately the Russians are the masters in their own "apartment" and are entitled to rearrange the "furniture" there as they see fit.

Overall, a considerable amount has been accumulated in Russia's relations with the NATO countries: the reduction of strategic arms, the elimination of short- and intermediate-range missiles, the withdrawal of armed forces from other countries, and the reduction of conventional arms and troop strengths. Our missiles are no longer targeted on each other. The practice has been established of holding joint exercises by Russia and the NATO countries. In these conditions the policy of enlarging NATO undermines this trend and may create the basis for future extremely dangerous crises.

In the opinion of the Russian Federation defense minister, the real transformation of NATO should consist not in expanding the alliance's zone of responsibility but in turning it from a Western military bloc into one instrument of an all-European collective security system. As a sensible and generally acceptable alternative to enlargement of the alliance it is proposed to examine cooperation both within the framework of the "Partnership for Peace" program and in a broader format, primarily between Russia and NATO. This is facilitated by the closeness of our views on contemporary risks and threats. On this basis it is possible to build up the cooperation between the armed forces of Russia and NATO as two components of a potentially integrated force reserve for containing [sderzhivaniye] common threats. And in the very near future it would be possible to embark on the review of military doctrines, the elaboration of common principles of contemporary military organizational development, and the reform of the armed forces.

Our long-term rapprochement is also facilitated by the fact that Russia advocates the total cessation of nuclear tests, the further reduction of strategic arms, and the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, fissionable materials, and destabilizing technologies. Another long-term sphere of cooperation is the lowering of combat readiness and troops' offensive potential, the numerical reduction of armed forces, the reduction of military budgets, and additional confidence-building measures.

Pavel Grachev also offered a detailed analysis of the possibility of creating a precedent for practical military cooperation between Russia and the NATO countries. It is a question of collaborating in resolving the Balkan crisis. It must be remembered that the difficulties in settling the situation in former Yugoslavia stem largely from the imperfection of political and military mechanisms for maintaining and restoring peace. It is no secret that attempts to resolve the Bosnian problem have sometimes been dominated by a desire on the part of certain countries primarily to safeguard their own interests. As a result the conflict has not only been dragged out but has entered a phase that creates a threat throughout the European continent. Yes, Russia does not rule out in principle the idea that at the present, transitional stage a specific situation may make it necessary for the role of collective instrument of force in settling conflicts to be played by existing "combat-ready" military structures, for instance, the North Atlantic alliance, the national armed forces of any state, or multinational forces specially created for the purpose.

It is in this way that the Russian side approaches the planned operation to ensure implementation of the peace agreement in Bosnia.

As a result of — let us be blunt — difficult but extremely productive talks between the Russian and U.S. defense ministers it has been possible to arrive at mutual understanding regarding the formula for Russia's military participation in the operation.

As is well known, this consists of the following:

— Russia will take part in the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but not under NATO command;

— it is planned to exercise overall leadership of the operation via U.S. General George Joulwan as the supreme leader of the multinational forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina;

— the person appointed as his deputy for the Russian troops is Col. Gen. Leontiy Shevtsov, representative of the Russian Federation Armed Forces, who will have direct command over the Russian troop contingent;

— in the interests of ensuring collaboration at all levels there will be operations groups of our officers at headquarters and a similar group of U.S. officers at the headquarters of our brigade;

— the Russian brigade's area of responsibility could be the Posavina corridor, where it would resolve tasks of disengaging the parties to the conflict and monitoring fulfillment of the peace agreement.

The implementation of these principles makes it possible to apply in practice the agreed thesis of the mechanism for Russian-NATO cooperation in the "16 plus 1" format, as envisaged by the "Partnership for Peace" program and also the document "Areas of Broad, In-Depth Dialogue and Cooperation Between Russia and NATO." The military leaders of the Russian Federation and the United States have done a great deal of very important work on planning the Bosnian operation. It has been possible to reconcile things that only recently appeared incompatible — one-man command and control, and at the same time the autonomy of the Russian contingent.

Army Gen. Pavel Grachev expressed the hope that the accords he has now reached with the U.S. defense secretary will meet with understanding and approval from all NATO members.

However, not everything has yet been done. Next in line is the question of political control over the operation. The possibility of finding mutual understanding also exists here. The basic setup for this control, in the minister's opinion, could be as follows:

— the operation is carried out under a special Security Council mandate and under the auspices of the United Nations. The United Nations appoints its own high representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to implement the agreement on military aspects of a peace settlement and [monitor] the compliance of the course of the military operation with the Security Council mandate;

— this mandate unequivocally defines the military-political aims, methods, and timetable for implementation of the operation, that is, rules for its implementation that are the same for everyone;

— the mandate to implement the new operation is issued to a group of states agreeing to allocate their own contingents, with instructions that the NATO military command and control structure can be utilized for leadership of the contingents used in the operation.

Overall, Pavel Grachev stressed, Russia is aware of the full extent of its responsibility for settling the conflict in the Balkans and is prepared to make its own constructive contribution to this process. This is predetermined by the fact, in particular, that considerable experience of political, military, and humanitarian cooperation in resolving the Yugoslav crisis has now been accumulated both under the auspices of the United Nations and the International Contact Group, and on a bilateral basis. Unique experience has also been gained in practical collaboration between our peacekeeping contingents in conditions of the civil war effectively under way on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. All this creates a firm basis for further joint actions for a final settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. And the Russian Federation and NATO have the opportunity right now to test in practice their mutual readiness and capacity for real cooperation and partnership in the name of peace and universal security and for the formation of a practical mechanism for implementing these ideas, the defense minister said, expressing his firm conviction.

Gromov: Ministry Not Briefed on NATO Talks

LD2911181095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1629 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 29 (INTERFAX) — The Defense Ministry has failed to brief the Foreign Ministry on progress in the negotiations Defense Minister Pavel Grachev held with NATO, the Russian Foreign Ministry's military expert General Boris Gromov said. General Gromov, who has the rank of a deputy foreign minister, leads the election association My Homeland.

"It is very likely that Grachev received instructions at the highest level, from the president, and did not feel obliged to discuss their progress with professional diplomats in the Foreign Ministry," General Gromov said.

Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev last Friday said that Grachev failed to inform the Foreign Ministry about his talks.

U.S., Russia Peacekeeping Agreement Viewed

MM2911182395 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 95 p 5

[Report by Oleg Shevtsov: "How Will Bosnia Corridor End for Our Soldiers; Pavel Grachev's Visit to Brussels Ended Yesterday"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels — The results of the Russian defense minister's trip to Brussels are assessed as very positive by both sides, both U.S. and Russian. U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry believes that he managed to remove the "Russian obstacle" to the start of the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia. For his part Pavel Grachev was able to insist that Russia take part in the detailed elaboration of all military aspects of peacekeeping in Bosnia. Moreover, Moscow was able to get a hearing for its opinion on the future collective security system in Europe.

Even the NATO documents prepared for submission to W. Perry and P. Grachev contained as a separate point "the special agreement with Russia" as an element of the overall scheme for the Bosnian operation. In general its formulation, as the Americans see it, is as follows: "NATO plus Russia equals success." The unifying plus formula presupposes that Russia with its participating force of 1,500 men will be given a key role for territorial control — the Posavina Corridor, in which the interests of the three conflicting sides in the Bosnian crisis clash.

To preserve the Russian contingent's "status of nonsubordination to NATO" it has been stipulated that it will not join the bloc's forces but will exist as it were attached to it. Our deputy commander in chief, a brigade commander, will have "dual control" (a dual key) from our Defense Ministry.

The Russian intention — to hand over overall political control of the operation to a special UN representative — was unexpectedly brought to nothing... by the tripartite agreement on Bosnia reached in Dayton. The Russian delegation ascertained when it was in Brussels that in the agreement the Serbs and Croats and even the Bosnians had agreed to the peacekeeping operation being implemented under the auspices of NATO itself, putting an end to our belated attempts to internationalize it still further. Pavel Grachev had reserve options for this contingency for "sharing" political control between Russia and NATO. But it was obvious that after agreeing on the general rules for the use of force the entire operational command will be transferred to the bloc's military structures with which our rear services personnel, supply personnel, and strategists will sort out the course of the peacekeeping operation.

Ivanov Stresses Importance of Joint Efforts in Bosnia

MK2911135795 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 82, 26 Nov-3 Dec 95 (Signed to press 28 Nov 95) p 5

[Article by Igor Ivanov, Russian Federation first deputy foreign minister: "Bosnia: This World Was Not Invented by Us"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] One ought not to use high-sounding words to describe the accords on a Bosnia settlement concluded in Dayton. There can be no miracles in conflicts like the Bosnian conflict. They have an age-old history and such an inventory of mutual hurts that should there be a magic formula to resolve them, it would have been long discovered without us.

What has become possible to achieve in Dayton is the art of the possible, and it would be convenient for me to assess the results using a professional language. Thus, the key success: It has become possible for the first time to involve all the parties to the conflict in a direct dialogue on all the problems. It has become possible for the first time to have them pass, not fragmented decisions, but an entire package of understandings that are supposed to take a year to implement. [passage omitted]

A separate question is who scored how many points in Dayton. I will not deny that sensible jealousy is okay in politics, but not less than sensible. From this point of view, peace in the former Yugoslavia primarily corresponds with the interests of Russia and Europe, because it is there that the wars that threw the entire continent into a fever were started.

In the capacity of a participant and eyewitness, I would not speak of the United States' dominant role in the course of the talks. Of course, the fact that we were on their territory enabled the Americans to pull out all the stops: Half the State Department staff were out at the air base, the defense secretary visited it once, and the secretary of state was there twice. Things perhaps could not have been otherwise, all the more because the question of Bosnia and sending 20,000 American troops there in light of the impending presidential elections in the United States is currently a sensitive internal policy issue; hence the desire to bill the understandings as a success for American diplomacy. [passage omitted]

There will be debates, of course. I would, however, wish that yet another spiral of debates should not drive us back into the vicious circle of wishful thinking. No, the treaty is not perfect, but this is the most that has been possible to accomplish today. No, we do not play today the role we would perhaps wish to, but one that is realistically possible. Not we alone, by far: Neither the European powers nor the United States can solve anything in the ex-Yugoslavia on their own — only together. [passage omitted]

Bosnia Agreement Seen Merely Marking 'Lull'

MM2911164595 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by Yevgeniy Fadeyev under the "Events, Commentaries" rubric: "Bosnia: An Agreement or Just a Lull?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, Belgrade — Whenever I am in Sarajevo I have to find a few minutes to visit Father Vojslav, the priest at the only church left in the Serbian part of the city.

Until quite recently there were over 30 Orthodox churches in Sarajevo — 10 of them medieval — but now, after four years of war, there is just one left, created by parishioners in a relatively safe location. Incidentally, it is housed in the former League of Communists Hall of Political Enlightenment. They have not even installed a bell lest the "green berets" fire when it tolls "on the hour." But that did not stop Father Vojslav from becoming the most popular individual in the area, however, which has been the case since he began his sermons in the city center.

His opinion on the peace settlement agreements signed at the air force base in the United States is unambiguous:

"This accord is a dead letter. Once again America has decided to pose as a 'peacemaker.' And Clinton needs to score points before next year's elections.... This is all insincere. It is cynical. It is degrading. We are surrounded by a barbed wire fence.

"Now I want to ask a few questions," Father Vojslav went on. "What do the Muslims expect from the U.S. cleansing of historical Serb territories? A cleansing backed up by nearly 3,000 NATO air raids? By punitive police actions by the European rapid reaction forces?

And what about the sanctions on Belgrade, which have formally been lifted and for which the Serbs have suffered so much humiliation? If anything is 'not to our liking' and contravenes the agreement the embargo will be reimposed.

"Finally, there is the most 'successful' appeasement measure in Ohio — the lifting of the sanctions on arms supplies to the Muslims. Does this mean that the never-ending flow of weapons, which, as everyone knows, has not stopped for a single day these past four years, will make peace in Bosnia real? I could go on asking dozens of questions like these..."

...But now I myself would like to ask the following "simple" question. What is going to happen soon to the Muslim-Croat federation created to a worldwide fanfare by the U.S. "peacemakers" by the tried and tested method of arm-twisting? How will this powder keg be defused by the Muslims and Croats when the latter have no qualms about calling their present "comrades in arms" nothing less than "filthy Arabs"?

As I wrote this phrase I remembered a recent editorial in OSLOBODENJE containing the words of Izetbegovic, the author of the notorious Islamic declaration, for which he spent almost 10 years in jail in the days of the SFRY. He wrote: "For me it does not matter whether Bosnian Muslims or Pakistanis live here in the future. The main thing is that our independent state should be Islamic. The last warrior of Allah can be sacrificed to achieve that goal."

"Clearly that is the direction it is all heading in," said a middle-aged Serbian officer called Rajko whom I spoke to in the trenches at Trebice. "Will the peace agreement be enforced by strong-arm methods? I am a career soldier and I have never heard anything about that. Are the United States, NATO, the Muslims with their several armies, and the Croats with all kinds of large formations, plus the Blue Helmets going to pacify us? Is it not enough that 90 percent of the Serb population centers in our republic have been burned and looted?"

It was as though Rajko was looking into the future. A few hours after our conversation I read a report from the SRNA news agency: "Detachments of Bosnian Croats are burning and looting population centers in central Bosnia which were supposed to have been returned to Bosnian Serb control as a condition of the peace agreement in Dayton. UN spokesmen reported that they saw around 10 burning houses. A BBC journalist saw uniformed people looting a building in Mrkonjic Grad before setting it on fire — this is the largest population center that is supposed to be given back to the Bosnian Serbs."

Here is Izetbegovic' extremely concise comment, which is not being released in the United States: "This peace is not just." The president of the Herzegovina Croats has resigned "in protest at the unjust agreement" in the United States. Clearly he could not have done so without the consent of the "father of the Croats" Tudjman.

There you have it — "reconciliation"!

But what is going to happen to us? I ask this question because as a result of Kozyrev's and Churkin's foreign policy "meanderings" in the former Yugoslavia Russia finds itself sidelined from the Bosnian peace process. On the other hand Russia as a military-political force has been drawn into the meat grinder here. However, the hollow words of the various quick-witted strategists (we will be part of NATO, but as for carrying out its orders — not on your life!) are nothing but fairy stories designed for dim-witted children and for domestic consumption.

Back to my personal question. Have we not had enough coffins of our own from various parts of the former USSR such as Chechnya, for example? Can the Russian contingent's participation in the Balkan conflict really achieve some kind of international image?

So what is going to become of us? Here is a prediction that I read in a recent issue of the respectable weekly ARGUMENT.

Michael Roskin, a U.S. professor specializing in global military strategy, sees the future like this. NATO together with Albania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, which have already signed up to the "Partnership for Peace" program, and Macedonia with the ever-tightening U.S. noose aided by the West will tighten the grip on Serbia. The academic even gives the date of the capitulation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia — 20 June 1997. He gives his analysis a very simple title. It is called "World War III. And How It Will End."

I did not manage to meet with Serb leader R. Karadzic on this trip. He was at the front line in Banja Luka, which is being pressured from the north by the Croatian "masters" of blitzkrieg. But here, according to colleagues' reports, is what he said: The Serbs are trying to unblock [deblokirovat] the peace agreement so as to secure further talks on the status of Sarajevo. The Bosnian Serbs will not leave their positions until a new solution is found. Karadzic warned that unless the U.S. plan is changed Sarajevo will be transformed into a European Beirut.

Generally speaking, the much-vaunted peace agreement (how many have there been so far? 36?) is a kind of recess, or if you will a lull for tragic Bosnia. But that is my personal opinion.

...The outskirts of Sarajevo have seen more snow in November than they have had in a very long time. And no matter how hard I try to rid my mind of the banal hallucination it seems that...this wondrously pure snow was like a shroud covering all around with endless rows of black crosses rising up the hillsides into the distance.

Premier To Attend Bosnia Ceremony 'In All Probability'

LD3011100595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0925 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (ITAR-TASS) — In all probability Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin will represent Russia at the ceremony of the signing of the documents on establishing peace in Bosnia, which is to be held in Paris on 14 December. An ITAR-TASS correspondent learned this today from well-informed government sources.

Official Envoy to Bosnia-Herzegovina Appointed

LD2911171395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1638 GMT 29 Nov 95

[By Valeriy Sevryukov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 29 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia has appointed Yakov Gerasimov as an official envoy to Bosnia-Herzegovina to represent its interests in this Balkan republic.

An agreement to establish full diplomatic relations between Russia and Bosnia-Herzegovina was reached during its Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic's visit to Moscow in February 1995.

Bosnia appointed its envoy to Moscow three years ago. Ibrahim Dzokic has been representing the interests of his republic in Russia and other CIS states since 1992.

Gerasimov, who left for Sarajevo on Wednesday [29 November], intends to return to Moscow in early December to report to the Foreign Ministry leadership.

Gerasimov, 49, is a career diplomat. He joined the foreign service in 19[illegible] after graduation from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He has a good command of the Serb, Croatian and English languages. Before his appointment, he served in the Foreign Ministry's First European Department and dealt with the former Yugoslavia.

Clinton's Contribution to Continuing Ulster Truce Noted

MM2911125695 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 95 p 3

[Commentary by Vladimir Shelkov: "A Tough Nut for Clinton"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington — The most difficult stopover during U.S. President Clinton's current European tour will be his visit to Northern Ireland. That is planned for Thursday [30 November] and will last just one day.

When the head of the U.S. Administration announced his intention to be the first U.S. President to visit Ulster — the announcement was made during a conference on investments in Northern Ireland held in Washington last spring — he expected that by the time he arrived all the political parties in that British province would already be holding interparty talks on how to end the bloody conflict which has gone on for 25 years now.

Life, however, has altered the scenario substantially. During the visit to Ulster, B. Clinton will apparently be faced with the same problems which have been blocking the settlement process for the past 18 months.

To be fair it should be noted that the active participation of Washington and of the president himself has contributed to the positive changes which have appeared in that process. Last year the White House took an unprecedented step: A U.S. entry visa was granted to Gerry Adams, leader of the Sinn Fein party — the political wing of the banned IRA, which unites in its ranks the Catholic population of Ulster and wants the province's separation from Britain and its unification with Ireland. Soon after Adams' visit to Washington, the IRA unilaterally announced a cessation of hostilities and terrorist acts. The Protestant militants, who want to preserve the union with London, followed that example and also laid down their arms.

That was 15 months ago. The warring sides ought to have sat down at the table for peace talks with London and Dublin a long time ago. However, that has not happened. The stumbling block here is the British Government's demand that first the IRA must make its gunmen surrender their weapons, after which the problems can begin to be discussed. Adams and his supporters reject this ultimatum.

As a result the entire peace settlement process has been placed in jeopardy. There was a report in the U.S. press on the eve of Clinton's visit that the British special services fear an early end to the truce in Ulster and the resumption of the bloody troubles. Unless, of course, a new compromise is found. In this regard very great significance is being attached to Clinton's visit. The IRA leaders, for example, are very much hoping that the U.S. President will find a way to cut the knot binding the talks during his visits to London and Dublin and his meetings with J. Major and his Irish counterpart J. Bruton.

It is hard to say how well-founded these hopes are. On the eve of the U.S. delegation's departure for Europe, official White House representatives stated that their boss's plans during this trip do not include active efforts to advance the peace settlement in Ulster. He merely wants to congratulate everyone on the continuing truce, it is said. However, Clinton is hardly going to miss an opportunity to advance the entire process once again. Especially since he will be accompanied to Ulster by important representatives not only of the U.S. Congress but also of the Irish-American community. And if they do manage to make progress Clinton's administration will happily put this victory down as one of its foreign policy successes.

Lukin on Prospects for Admission to Council of Europe

LD3011100995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0830 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By Taras Lariokhin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] COPENHAGEN, November 30 (ITAR-TASS) — The consideration of a report on Russia's admission to the Council of Europe (CE) is the central item on the agenda of a meeting of the Political Commission of the Parliamentary Assembly of the CE [PACE], due to be held in the Danish Foreign Ministry building here on Thursday. The forum is being held in Denmark as the country which currently presides over the CE Ministerial Committee.

The meeting will be attended by the Chairmen of the Foreign Affairs Committees of Russia's Federation Council and the State Duma, Vladimir Podoprigora and Vladimir Lukin, respectively.

Lukin, who also leads a Federal Assembly delegation to the PACE, has emphasised in an ITAR-TASS interview that he expects that at today's meeting the PACE Political Commission will recommend that Russia be admitted to the Council of Europe.

"A solution to the matter has already been dragged out long enough, in view of the events in Chechnya as well," Lukin said.

"Of course, the Commission's meeting will not be without criticisms levelled at Russia which, really, cannot be referred to, so far, as an ideal country from the viewpoint of the observance of human rights. However, if 'double standard' is not applied, Russia has got to be admitted to the Council of Europe. Many a country, including Denmark, feels in such a constructive and positive way," Lukin pointed out.

Inspectors Note Black Sea Unit's CFE Compliance

MM2811153795 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Pasyakin: "Black Sea Fleet Men Implement Terms of Treaty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A by no means ordinary commission spent a day working at the Black Sea Fleet marine infantry brigade commanded by Colonel Aleksandr Smolyak. Eight U.S. servicemen, one Belgian officer, and two Ukrainian officers were acting as inspectors.

They were thus monitoring implementation of the CFE Treaty. The commission noted that the men of the Black Sea Fleet are implementing the treaty.

Italian Paper Cites Chernomyrdin on Chechnya Peace

LD3011100395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0922 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Startsev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rome, 30 Nov (ITAR-TASS) — There is no alternative to peace in Chechnya, and the Russian Federation government will not allow itself to be drawn by provocations aimed at fresh conflict. This was stated by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in an interview published in the Italian newspaper LA REPUBBLICA today.

We have to activate the talks, involve the healthy forces in society, restore what has been destroyed, and prevent the bloodshed in Chechnya, the head of the the Russian Government stated.

Albanian Official Meets With Deputy Prime Minister

LD3011000095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1224 GMT 29 Nov 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Valeriy Sevryukov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (ITAR-TASS) — The restoration of equal and mutually beneficial relations with Russia is an issue of fundamental importance for Albania's foreign policy. This was stated today by Albanian Deputy Prime Minister Dashamir Shehi at a meeting with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Vitaliy Ignatenko.

Dashamir Shehi handed over a message for Russian President Boris Yeltsin from Albanian head of state Sali Berisha and a message for Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin from Albanian Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi.

The Albanian visitor reported on the development of democratic processes in his country, noting that the present situation makes it possible to expect a full stabilization of the economy by the end of the century.

"The philosophy behind our visit," Dashamir Shehi noted, "is not to obtain aid from Russia but, on the contrary, to propose equal and mutually beneficial cooperation with Russia. We confirm the Albanian government's wish to improve relations with Russia."

New Gas Agreement Signed With Turkmenistan

MM2911165095 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 2

[INTERFAX report under the "Business Chronicle" rubric: "'Turkmenrosgaz' in CIS Market"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a report from the INTERFAX news agency, Turkmenistan and Russia have signed an agreement in Ashgabat on cooperation in the field of gas-power engineering during 1996.

"The agreement envisages joint work on the territory of Turkmenistan and covers all questions — from prospecting for gas to its sale," Rem Vyakhirev, chairman of the board of the Russian joint-stock company "Gazprom," said at a press conference.

For his part, President of Turkmenistan Saparmurad Niyazov noted that "the new joint-stock company's work will mostly be carried out in the republic's eastern regions — the Amu Darya basin, Chardzhou and Tashauz Oblasts, and the Caspian shelf."

What is meant is that apart from the general agreement on cooperation, the sides also signed an incorporation agreement to establish a joint Turkmen-Russian joint-stock company "Turkmenrosgaz." In the words of Rem Vyakhirev, it will control 100 percent of Turkmen gas supplies to CIS markets.

Saparmurad Niyazov emphasized that the documents signed in Ashgabat do not limit the interests of potential investors from third countries: "If they have mutually advantageous proposals, let them come."

Last Stretch of Russo-Chinese Border Marked in Far East

LD3011094395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0924 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By Yevgenia Lents]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VLADIVOSTOK, November 30 (ITAR-TASS) — The last stretch of the Russo-Chinese border was marked in the Maritime Territory (the Russian Far East) today. A mixed working team, which included representatives from the Russian and Chinese border guard services, topographic, cartographic, and administrative organisations had spent three months carrying out measuring and delimination jobs for three months in three districts of the Territory, directly adjoining the border — Oktyabrskiy, Ussuriyskiy, and Pogranichnyy. The border was moved from five to 350 metres into Russian territory. Approximately 1,500 hectares of land were transferred to China. The Ussuriyskiy district alone has lost about 900 hectares of valuable cedar forests and hunting grounds.

Although the fixing of the new border between China and Russia is over, the population of the Maritime Territory continues to express its negative attitude to the transfer of those Russian lands to China. It is quite possible that its active efforts will be a trump card for Yevgeniy Nazdratenko, Head of the Territorial Administration, who is now campaigning for the post of local governor, which he hopes to win during the upcoming elections.

MiG Disclaims Responsibility for Israeli Updates

MM3011114895 Moscow FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 5

[Report by Igor Mironov, expert at the National Business and Political Information Agency: "Israel Has Developed Strong Appetite for Trade in Russian Weapons" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] When Russia weakened its position in the world arms market, its competitors began to vigorously "target" Moscow's former clients. Israel has been most successful of all here.

The total annual volume of Israeli arms exports is worth around $1.5-1.6 billion, but Tel Aviv regards this as far from being the limit and pins great hopes on selling and modernizing Russian weapons.

The Israeli military-industrial complex' potential exceeds the needs of the national armed forces. Therefore Tel Aviv's weapons couturiers are storming foreign markets, counting on selling and modernizing Russian armaments.

Major General Herzl Budinger, commander of the Israeli Air Force, recently visited Germany, where he inspected Russian MiG-29 fighters belonging to the German Air Force and familiarized himself with their equipment and combat capabilities. An accord on training Israeli pilots for MiG-29s at German bases was reached during the visit.

The Israeli special services, who obtain examples of Russian-made military equipment and munitions for detailed study of their potential for modernizaton, are very active in the field of "weapons plagiarism." Israel anticipates that Russian weapons will be found in the armies of potential adversaries among Arab countries in the next 10-15 years and hopes to create appropriate countermeasure systems.

The Israel Aircraft Industry (IAI) consortium is the main enterprise involved in modernizing military equipment. A small repair plant set up in the early fifties, it has now become a major aerospace corporation employing 16,000 people. In 1993 the total volume of goods sold was worth $1.5 billion, weapons and military equipment making up $1.1 billion of this. In 1994 the volume of orders reached $3 billion, 80 percent of the military equipment going for export.

It is interesting that IAI recently reached agreement with the Ukrainian Air Force on participation in the modernization of MiG-21s. Experts consider this step to be political — Kiev trying once more to demonstrate to the whole world its principle of "anyone but Russia." However, it is well known that no one except the equipment developers are capable of professionally modernizing it.

Israel is also helping Cambodia reequip its MiG-2 aircraft and Mi-8 and Mi-17 helicopters. A program to modernize An-24, An-26, and Tu-134 aircraft belonging to the Cambodian Air Force is also under discussion.

A contract to modernize 15 MiG-21s, costing Cambodia $20-30 million, was recently concluded.

The IAI leadership pins great hopes on developing cooperation with India. It is intended to carry out the joint development and production of drones and certain types of rocket and missile weapons and also carry out the modernization of 250 Indian Air Force MiG-21 fighters. The total value of IAI contracts with India is estimated at $1 billion.

The IAI is counting on modernizing up to 500 fighters of the MiG family in the countries of Africa, East Europe, and Southeast Asia.

However, the rights to the MiG-21 are held by Russia. The MiG Moscow Aviation Production Association, the developer and producer of this fighter, has repeatedly stated that it accepts no responsibility for modernization done by others and does not guarantee their safety or reliability.

Political Issues

Reportage on Nominations for Presidential Candidacy

Yeltsin Officially Nominated

LD3011121195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1125 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Natalya Panshina]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 30 Nov — Today Boris Yeltsin was officially put forward as a candidate for the post of president for a second term.

It is known that the head of state himself has not yet announced his decision as to whether he will stand in the elections which are to take place next year.

The nomination took place at a gathering in Moscow at which Vladimir Komchatov, the authorized representative of the president in the capital, made a speech.

Chernomyrdin Not To Run

LD3011095395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0916 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By TAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Startsev]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rome, 30 Nov — Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has confirmed that he does not intend to put his candidacy forward for the upcoming presidential elections. In an interview published today in the prestigious Italian journal REPUBBLICA, he declined to link this question with whether Russian President Boris Yeltsin will run in the elections.

The Russian prime minister also denied rumors about rivalry between himself and the head of state. He said his relations with the president are based on mutual trust.

Abdulatipov Nominated for Post

LD2911204795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1737 GMT 29 Nov 95

[By Lyudmila Yermakova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 29 (ITAR-TASS) — The Cooperation of Peoples For Life movement (Senezh Forum) nominated deputy Federation Council speaker Ramazan Abdulatipov as its candidate for Russian presidency.

The movement — set up in 1991 to support public initiatives, develop versatile ties between people and ensure compliance with the law in the resolution of ethnic problems — believes that Abdulatipov is a "real Russian and can draw public attention to the problems of all peoples in order to realise their interests in a nationwide policy."

In an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS, Abdulatipov admitted that "he has practically no chances of winning the election." However, he did not rule out the possibility that he may run for presidency in order to "attract the attention of Russian people to the ideas of cooperation between peoples and the problems of federalism."

He believes that presidential elections will provide a forum for the advancement of these ideas, "without which it is impossible to revive an integral and prosperous Russia."

Electoral Commission Rejects Voronin

LD3011122695 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 0600 GMT 30 Nov 95

[Video report by Sergey Yegorov from the Central Electoral Commission; passages in quotation marks are recorded; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] For Vladimir Voronin, who decided to be first in line for the presidential post at the Central Electoral Commission, the submission procedure ended today [29 November] after barely beginning. The documents drawn up by the action committee which put forward his candidacy caused consternation among the commission.

[Commission member O. Zastrozhnaya, addressing commission] "The document has been drawn up so carelessly that it transpires that some captain of a backyard football team is being put forward as a candidate for the presidency of the Russian Federation."

Vladimir Voronin, who showed up in the room to the considerable surprise of [Commission Chairman] Nikolay Ryabov, made an attempt to persuade those present of the justice of his case. It didn't work. [video shows Voronin coming to his feet]

[Ryabov] "Please be seated."

[Voronin] "Well, thank you..."

[Ryabov, interrupting] "Well, if you please."

A note of excitement entered the conversation of the failed Russian head of state. Then it was Ryabov's turn to be indignant.

[Ryabov] "I ask that this citizen be put out on the street where 150 million citizens reside. He has no business here. Goodbye."

[Voronin] "I don't think you will occupy this position forever, Mr. Ryabov."

The head of the ill-starred action committee who replaced Voronin at the tribunal decided to switch the discussion from the area of correct procedure for completing documents to the area of international law. The all but departed Vladimir Voronin appeared in the door.

[Voronin] "I haven't finished yet. There are thousands of people standing outside there. Come out and see."

The vigilant reporters went out onto the steps of the Central Electoral Commission. They managed to count 13 people.

Yeltsin Turns Down Law on Restructuring Former USSR Debt

LD2811194895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1945 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 28 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin, on a basis of article 107 of the Russian Constitution, turned down the law passed by the State Duma and endorsed by the Federation Council "On international treaties of the Russian Federation on being successor to foreign indebtedness and assets of the USSR and restructuring of external indebtedness of the USSR", the presidential press service reported to ITAR-TASS.

Matters connected with Russia's succeeding external indebtedness and assets of the USSR have been resolved in Russia's relations with other ex-USSR republics, the President writes in his message to Speaker of the State Duma, Ivan Rybkin.

The attempt to take up these problems again is not in Russia's interests. This would mean that Russia itself calls in question the decision on the status and ownership of assets of the former USSR, which would give the ground to debtors of the former USSR to waive their obligations to the Russian Federation. This would also undermine Russia's efforts aimed at restructuring the entire foreign indebtedness of the former USSR.

Meanwhile, the Federal Assembly is not kept apart from the restructuring of external indebtedness. Quite the contrary, it determines the parameters of this process every year, Yeltsin notes. Laws on the federal budget adopted by the Federal Assembly stipulate amounts of payments toward servicing the debt.

The message says that matters of restructuring the USSR's external indebtedness are being tackled by Russia on a basis of multilateral arrangements with creditors in the Paris Club and the London Club.

It is noted that agreements on restructuring the debt of the former USSR addressed themselves not to political, but to financial aspects of the problems of external indebtedness: there exist relations of the debtor and the creditor. The conclusion of agreements is preceded by multilateral arrangements in the framework of the Paris Club and the London Club.

Therefore, Russia's refusal to conclude if one of such agreements would give legal grounds for denouncing all the presently operating agreements, which would jeopardise economic security of the Russian Federation as it would have urgently to repay the entire debt of the former USSR that has earlier been restructured.

The conclusion of the agreements on restructuring external indebtedness is predetermined by indexes contained in the laws on the federal budget, the President's message says. Part of these agreements is signed not in the form of an international treaty. All such agreements are aimed at resolving only financial aspects of the problem of external indebtedness.

The Russian government ensures the conclusion of agreements on restructuring foreign debt in such a way that budget expenses for these purposes should not exceed the limits set by the federal budget. If it follows from the international treaty on restructuring that these limits are surpassed, the treaty is to be ratified in accordance with the federal law "On international treaties of the Russian Federation" as different rules from those stipulated by law are being established.

As to interbank agreements, they could be concluded in this case only after appropriate changes in the law of the federal budget.

It follows from the above-mentioned that there is no need to pass the law as the presently operating legislation contains the norms permitting to resolve corresponding matters in accordance with the Russian Constitution, the Presidential message says.

Korotchenya Quotes Yeltsin on CIS Integration

LD2911162195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1605 GMT 29 Nov 95

[By Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow November 29 (ITAR-TASS) — President Boris Yeltsin called to enhance integration among former Soviet republics united in the Commonwealth of Independent States and said they should follow the example of the European Union.

"It is necessary to strengthen integration ties between the CIS countries using all interstate mechanisms for that", the president was quoted as saying by CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya who visited him on Wednesday.

Like the European Union, the CIS countries should work for rapproachment using the potential which was created during their existence in the framework of a single economic space, Yeltsin said according to Korotchenya.

He told Tass that nine issues will be in the agenda of the CIS summit scheduled for January 19 [1996] in Moscow. Another nine documents will, evidently, be signed without debates as they have been already agreed by prime ministers.

Korotchenya said that Yeltsin was interested in those issues which had not been agreed yet and in the special opinions of some leaders of CIS states regarding the issues on the agenda of the upcoming summit.

Korotchenya quoted Yeltsin as urging the practical implementation of the signed agreements on the customs and settlement union and on the creation of the Interstate economic committee.

Edict Bans Power Cuts in State Security Facilities

MM2911152195 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Nov 95 p 3

[Russian Federation Presidential Edict No. 1173 "On Measures To Ensure the Stable Operation of Facilities Ensuring State Security," signed by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow on 23 November under the heading: "State Security Is No Subject for Economies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With a view to ensuring the stable operation of facilities ensuring state security (troop units, establishments, enterprises, and federal executive organizations in which military service is envisaged) and precluding incidents that could jeopardize the implementation of their assigned tasks, and guided by Article 80 of the Russian Federation Constitution, I decree that:

1. The restriction or termination of deliveries of fuel and energy resources (electricity and thermal power, gas, and water) and provision of communications services and utilities to troop units, establishments, enterprises, and federal executive organizations in which military service is envisaged shall be deemed a violation of the state's security.

2. The Russian Federation Government shall:

— take urgent steps to prevent the restriction or termination of deliveries of fuel and energy resources (electricity and thermal power, gas, and water) and the provision of communications services and utilities to troop units, establishments, enterprises, and federal executive organizations in which military service is envisaged;

— identify means of covering payment arrears for resources used and distributed to troop units, establishments, enterprises, and federal executive organizations in which military service is envisaged;

— within a month bring normative acts into line with this Edict.

3. This Edict comes into force on the day that it is signed.

[Signed] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin

[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 23 November 1995
No. 1173

1996 Program for Monetary, Credit Policies Adopted

LD3011130195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1237 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By Nadezhda Anisimova, Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, November 30 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian Government has approved a programme of monetary and credit policies for 1996. The programme was adopted with a few recommendations at a government session held today. In particular, it was recommended to hold a thorough discussion of Russia's policy in relation to the CIS national currencies.

First deputy chairman of the Central Bank Aleksandr Khandruyev addressed the Cabinet of ministers, saying that next year, production decline would be halted and inflation rates brought down. Khandruyev noted that an inflationary forecast for next year made by the Central Bank coincides with the inflationary expectations of 1.9 per cent a month envisaged by the state budget. Khandruyev said that the main task given to the state in the area of the credit and monetary policy was pursuing a course aimed at curbing inflation rates. Khandruyev also expects the policy of controlling the rouble exchange rate by means of the rouble corridor to be continued.

For his part, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin made a few critical remarks, saying that the Central Bank had presented a credit and monetary policy of the Central Bank, rather than of the whole state. Chernomyrdin noted that "the Central Bank should create advantageous conditions for commercial banks to encourage the banks to make credit investments", adding that this was not mentioned in the submitted document.

Draft of Presidential Staff 'Blueprint' Viewed

MK3011083595 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Anatoliy Veslo under the "Intrigue" rubric: "Sergey Filatov To Stay in the Kremlin Even If With Curtailed Authority. Reorganization of the Presidential Staff May Broaden Special Services' Powers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rumors about the imminent resignation of Sergey Filatov, chief of the presidential staff, which have been circulating since early August, may for the time being be dismissed as premature. Still, judging from information available to SEGODNYA, Mr. Filatov has found himself pushed to shaky ground by the Presidential Security Service [SBP], which has seen to it that a number of important agencies will be withdrawn from the chief of staff's control. This is confirmed by a new blueprint for restructuring the presidential staff, which has been drawn up in the strictest secrecy and which still retains a niche for Sergey Filatov.

It should be recalled that talk about Sergey Filatov's resignation was fueled by the presidential edict of 28 July, under which the SBP and the Administration for the Management of Presidential Affairs were given the status of federal agencies and effectively became independent from the chief of staff. In that same document the president requested that a new statute on the presidential staff be drawn up within a month. Soon afterward Mr. Filatov was stripped of his security guards and a state-owned summer house in Moscow Oblast named "Moskva River-1," something that has always been seen in the top echelons of power as the final lap leading up to a resignation.

Still, judging by the results of work on the new statute (it involved experts of Viktor Ilyushin, first presidential adviser; the SBP; the Personnel Administration; the State Legal Administration; and also law students, including scholars from the Academy of State Service), the new blueprint will retain a place for Sergey Filatov, although his authority will be curtailed. A consultant who had a direct bearing on the drafting of the presidential services' new structure said that as a result of the upcoming reorganization presidential representatives in the regions, presidential advisers, the SBP, the Security Council secretary, the Administration for the Management of Affairs, the Federal Computer Technology Center, the Special Programs Administration and, finally, the chief of the presidential staff will report directly to the president. This enumeration alone shows that the level of the chief of staff, compared to his place in the former system of presidential services' subordination, is reduced to that of the presidential aides.

The new draft statute calls for five key state administrations to be set up, namely, on citizens' constitutional rights; domestic and foreign policy; civil service and personnel; state legal; and state control administrations. Their subordination has yet to be defined — this is due to be done by the president himself. The source noted that the underlying idea of the new structure is to enable the advisers directly to supervise these expert analytical administrations over the chief of staff's head. He will still head various commissions, such as on citizenship matters, state prizes, human rights, on matters of women, families, and demography, and also the Presidential, Expert Analysis, and Personnel Councils, and other similar agencies that are considered secondary in terms of their clout. Nonetheless, the source stressed that this blueprint can be seen as a compromise between the former hierarchy and proposals on which the SBP has insisted.

It is precisely at the insistence of the SBP and General Aleksandr Korzhakov that Boris Yeltsin removed this agency from the organizational and financial control of his chief of staff by presidential edict and also separated the Administration for the Management of Affairs from his staff. It seems that such an organization is related to the presidential elections scheduled for summer 1996. In the view of certain Kremlin politicians, the Administration for the Management of Affairs and the SBP are capable of playing the key role in organizing and financing the vote.

When work on the new draft statute on the presidential staff began, SBP representatives insisted that the main information channels, analytical centers, and expert groups be directly subordinate to presidential aides. This proposal does have a certain logic. Mikhail Krasnov, for instance, who is responsible for the expert appraisal of presidential edicts and directives, as well as drafts of other documents to be signed by the head of state, would in this event be able to coordinate the operation of all legal services of the executive branch. This does not exhaust the essence of the proposal, though. The thing is that a presidential adviser will undoubtedly be unable for purely physical reasons to steer numerous expert teams. The advisers' workload, which includes not just day-to-day matters, but also the devising of plans of action for the president depending on the current situation, makes it impossible for them also to wear the hat of administrators of such a rank. With this sort of subordination, actual control over the most important services would, in all likelihood, be taken over by General Georgiy Rogozin, deputy chief of the SBP. Technically, the SBP was given this right in the president's July edict.

As yet, however, as was mentioned above, a compromise option for reorganizing his staff has been submitted to the head of state. Boris Yeltsin must make a decision as to whom the executive agencies of the presidential staff will be subordinate. If analysts, experts, and information specialists end up being jointly supervised by the chief of staff and advisers, the existing balance of forces in the presidential entourage may be retained. If the option calling for these employees to be subordinated to presidential advisers gains the upper hand, however, the organizational structure that will come about will tip the scale in the SBP's favor. This turn of events will greatly boost the special services' influence on the entire system of state government.

The SBP leadership's well-known viewpoint regarding its own functions is that this agency is called upon to ensure national security in all areas of public life. This applies all the more to the Federal Security Service [FSB], currently headed by General Mikhail Barsukov, who has close connections with the SBP. The SBP's intervention in purely economic matters (such as Aleksandr Korzhakov's letter to Viktor Chernomyrdin on oil export quotas, and so forth) is attributable precisely to this broad interpretation of the service's role. Those who share this view point out that as of today there are no effectively operating agencies apart from the SBP and the FSB because ministries and agencies, and also civilian (that is, constitutional) services of the presidential staff are prone to corruption. In a word, the choice the president will have to make will mean not just yet another personnel reshuffle, but a political action with wide-ranging consequences.

Rokhlin Discusses Chechnya, Army Problems, NDR

MK3011074395 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 2

[Interview with General Lev Rokhlin, commander of Russian troops in Chechnya and No. 3 on the "Russia Is Our Home" electoral bloc's list, by Natalya Timakova and Aleksandr Budberg at the Arkhangelskoye military sanatorium outside Moscow; date not given: "Dudayev's Personal Enemy. Lev Rokhlin: 'The Most Important Thing for an Officer Is To Be Aware of His Responsibility Before His Soldiers' Parents"; first paragraph is MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS introduction]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] One of the authors met with General Lev Rokhlin for the first time in Groznyy in early January. On that day the reconnaissance scouts of the Eighth Corps he commanded finally seized Dudayev's palace. Then a small celebration was held at Rokhlin's command post, which was set up in the basement of the house of the city's "main mafioso." The commander himself, who appeared to be a huge man in his quilted jacket and spectacles held together by insulating tape, looked completely at home. Referring to their commander, privates either called him unceremoniously "our Leva Rokhlin" or, sliding into a high-flown style, "the legendary corps commander." The second meeting took place at a sanatorium where Lev Yakovlevich was recuperating after two heart surgeries. This time the general stood out strikingly against his new environment — the deluxe interior of a building erected in the 1930's. He looked much older than his 48 years, attributing this not so much to the consequences of the surgery, as to the fact that a year at war counts as three regular years. As for him, he spent six and a half years at war.

[Timakova, Budberg] You turned down a Hero's Star and a service promotion. Does this mean that on the whole you are opposed to this war?

[Rokhlin] Yes.

[Timakova, Budberg] Do you think it should not have started at all?

[Rokhlin] Absolutely. This is a very strange war. That Dudayev was to a certain extent cultivated as a counterbalance to some trends or other and fell from grace once he had been cultivated — there is no doubt about it. Until now it has not been determined why weapons were not pulled out of Chechnya in 1991, although there was the possibility of doing so. It has not been determined why oil was pumped there until the very last day. They said that otherwise some "pumps" would have dried up and could not have been restarted, and so on and so forth.

Yes, maybe a situation came about where the question had to be resolved by using military force. But the war is undoubtedly a sequence of some mistakes or other, that is plainly obvious. [passage omitted]

[Timakova, Budberg] Do you think that Chechnya will be with us for a long time?

[Rokhlin] When they report every day — two men are killed, five wounded; 16 men are killed and 25 wounded — no politician has the right to drag this out for a long time. No government, no president. But what is to be done — this is already another side of the problem.

[Timakova, Budberg] What ways out of the situation do you see?

[Rokhlin] In fact, there are four options. The first and best option is to reach an agreement. Attempts to implement this option have been under way for four months now, since right after Budennovsk. But not one Chechen detachment has laid down its arms during this period of time. Furthermore, what is to be done with Basayev and the fighters who not just fought, but also committed regular crimes? For this reason I do not believe very much in the effectiveness of this option.

Troops can be pulled out, a clear-cut border can be drawn, and after the very first terrorist act on our soil all Chechens should be sent to their historical home country...

[Timakova, Budberg] So it turns out that all our losses were in vain?

[Rokhlin] Let bygones be bygones. Most important is that no more people are killed. But this option, too, has huge drawbacks to it. The Chechens will immediately bring in a sea of weapons by air from the Muslim countries. Before long these weapons will end up in Dagestan, Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria. Mountain borders cannot be sealed off, Tajikistan has shown that.

The third option is to train the troops and to eliminate the bands. The fourth one is sort of to ignore them. The fighters are in the mountains and it is very difficult to get them out of there. But we could seal off the mountains, set up a border zone, mine passes if need be — let them stay up there.

[Timakova, Budberg] Which option are you leaning toward?

[Rokhlin] To something in the middle. One should use both the stick and the carrot. On the one hand, those who want to fight should be dealt with in an extremely tough manner, and on the other, the rest should be left to live peacefully. Looting should be stopped without fail. It should be punished by death by firing squad. In the meantime, terrible things are being perpetrated there. I even had to withdraw my best-trained unit — the reconnaissance battalion — from combat only in order to catch looters and make raids on our own troops. Whatever war we might be waging, looting is the most terrible thing. When we entered Germany, the first order was to shoot looters on the spot. In Chechnya, however, not one single man was sentenced for that. Of course the people would turn their backs on you.

Second. Dudayev has lots of opponents among Chechens. These opponents should be urgently signed up to form a Chechen militia. Let this militia fight in Groznyy. The army, for its part, should immediately stop all combat operations in the city. The key facilities and roads should be taken under control, while the neighborhoods should be policed by the local militia. Of course, an unpleasant association comes to mind, but the Germans did so — and they seized hundreds of cities. [passage omitted]

[Timakova, Budberg] In Groznyy, you had indisputable authority among the troops. And what about Afghanistan?

[Rokhlin] Absolutely the same. The thing is that what is disliked so much in peacetime is particularly valued in war. In Chechnya, too, I did not pamper anyone. No one can say that I was too soft on anyone. Generally speaking, the word "softness" probably does not apply to me. But when people see that they do not get killed thanks to your correct decisions, they start treating you with respect. All the more so because the soldiers do not know me personally. They only see the results of combat operations. They see that they are still alive, although on their left and right the situation is absolutely different.

[Timakova, Budberg] Is the army presently less battleworthy than it was in Afghanistan?

[Rokhlin] Yes, undoubtedly.

[Timakova, Budberg] Does the army need reform?

[Rokhlin] Without any doubt.

[Timakova, Budberg] What kind [of reform]?

[Rokhlin] Once a person who is preparing to run for president came to me and asked me a question: "What do you think about an Armed Forces with a strength of 600,000 men?" "Why precisely 600,000, not 60 or 6?" I replied. He imagines himself a president and blurts out a thing like that! This is an extremely delicate question that should be dealt with by the best minds of the country. We should define what we should retain in such difficult economic conditions. I, for one, am very concerned about our Far East. The reason is that a huge country bordering on us is growing at a precipitous pace. And a shortage of territory is already being felt there.

This is why this is a strategic question — what we need first of all, in what state the Navy, the Air Force, and the Missile Forces should be. Everything should be measured and accounted for.

It is said that what we need is a small and battleworthy army. But what is to be done with submarines, which are literally worth their weight in gold? Or with missiles that constantly move between silos, ready to fire a salvo? Should they be thrown out or kept? Maybe they are worth throwing out, but we should make up our minds first. Moreover, it is competent, unbiased people who should make up their minds. We have been given a breathing space — no one is going to attack us — and it should be used. [passage omitted]

[Timakova, Budberg] Is this the reason you went in for politics, entering "Russia Is Our Home's" list as its No. 3?

[Rokhlin] Yes, one of the reasons. On the whole, however, strange as it might sound, I am very much fearful of war and blood. Presently there is a great number of parties that are bent on nationalism. I saw in Georgia a state collapsing, and blood shed without any reason just because Gamsakhurdia came out and announced: "Georgia is for the Georgians!"

In addition, many people have already been in power and want to come back to it. Everyone has had his opportunities. But look how many people used to govern us, from Stalin to Gorbachev — was there at least one decent man among them?

All the more so because yet another redivision could end in war. The Yusupovs (the conversation was taking place at Arkhangelskoye, formerly the Yusupovs' estate — authors) were the nobility for so long that everything slipped away from them. Presently, however, the guys who have made capital have gone from rags to riches and will not give anything up easily.

Without doubt, we need change; order ought to be brought without fail. But if things go as far as yet another revolution, this will be too much of a good thing for everyone.

[Timakova, Budberg] What is your attitude to Chernomyrdin?

[Rokhlin] I do not believe in parties — there are too many people longing for power there. For this reason bets should be placed on specialists. The new internal affairs minister is, clearly, more capable than Yerin, for instance. What I like in Chernomyrdin is that he is a quick person. When I talked to him and raised a problem, he grasped the crux of the matter sooner than I had time to finish the sentence. For this reason I hope that his quick wits, special knowledge, and experience will help the country.

[Timakova, Budberg] Did he himself invite you to join the bloc?

[Rokhlin] I would not like to go into these subtleties.

[Timakova, Budberg] There are presently lots of men in uniform in politics. Whom will the army choose?

[Rokhlin] There are too many problems in the army. The army has become a pariah. So it will give vent to its dissatisfaction first of all through its voting.

[Timakova, Budberg] Do you think it will vote for radical candidates?

[Rokhlin] I think this is quite possible.

[Timakova, Budberg] What is your attitude to Lebed?

[Rokhlin] I would ask you not to set us — military men — against each other. Servicemen slinging mud at each other — that's all we need.

[Timakova, Budberg] If you are elected to the State Duma, will you leave the service?

[Rokhlin] I will see. But you will be convinced once again that Rokhlin does not need anything for himself.

FSB Institutes Criminal Case on Cesium-137 Find

LD2911222195 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1855 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 29 (INTERFAX) — Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB) have instituted criminal proceedings on the discovery of a radioactive container in the Izmailovo district of Moscow, well-informed sources told INTERFAX Wednesday [29 November].

The case was filed under article 213, part 3, "Terrorism" of Russia's penal code. According to unconfirmed reports, the jug contained cesium-137.

Chechen terrorist Shamil Basayev pointed the location of the container to journalists of Russia's NTV channel.

Investigators ordered a number of expertise activities to find out where the isotope had been stolen and who took part in this action.

Kulikov Dismisses 'Several' Senior Officers

LD2911173395 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1629 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 29 (INTERFAX) — Russian Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov said on Wednesday [29 November] he had dismissed several senior ministry officers, including four generals, for abuse of authority.

"Among those dismissed is the deputy head of the State Interior Department for the Moscow Region, Valeriy Aksakov. Twelve senior Interior Ministry officials, three of them my deputies, have been strictly punished," Kulikov told INTERFAX in comments on a purging operation within the ministry code-named "Clean Hands."

The head of the ministry's Chief Department for Material, Technical and Military Supplies, Gen. Vladimir Negodov, broke a presidential decree by becoming one of the founders of a commercial firm, the minister continued. Making use of his official position Negodov also sanctioned providing the firm with weapons. "General Negodov has tendered his resignation from the Interior Ministry," Kulikov said.

Asked for a forecast about next year's criminal situation in Russia, the minister said, "One should expect further consolidation of the criminal world and formation of shadow transnational and interregional structures which will seek to take control of the most profitable sectors of the economy, among them export and import operations and trade of weapons, automobiles and drugs."

Underworld groups will also continue to divide and redivide their spheres of influence, Kulikov predicted.

Preliminary estimates put "the total number of crimes that will be registered in 1996 at about 2.9 million," he said.

Fedorov Wins Libel Case Against LDPR Deputies

MM2911152095 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Maks Khazin: "A Blow to Liberal Democratic Party of Russia Funds"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Everyone has forgotten how the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] faction in the State Duma brutally slandered its parliamentary colleague B. Fedorov some time ago. An official statement by the faction made it known to all that he, B. Fedorov, "is using the State Duma to lobby the interests of smart operators in our criminal market economy." It reported with the same zeal that "his professional activity in Yegor Gaydar's government wiped out the savings of millions of investors."

B. Fedorov could not stomach this insult, so he filed a suit in defense of his honor, dignity, and professional reputation.

The signatories to the faction's statement evidently naively believed that their deputies' immunity not only allowed them to commit a criminal offense with impunity, but also gave them the right to ignore a court summons to attend the civil case in question. The court felt it possible to hear the case in their absence.

In court, the plaintiff's lawyer, N. Paleyev, easily proved that B. Fedorov had never worked in Ye. Gaydar's government: He was appointed Russian Federation minister of finance when the government was headed by V. Chernomyrdin.

As for lobbying the interests of "smart operators in our criminal market economy," the court was presented with a whole series of documents indicating that B. Fedorov had taken directly the opposite stance.

The court ordered LDPR members A. Kozyrev, V. Vishnyakov, V. Lisichkin, and M. Sidorov to each pay 2 million rubles [R] in damages. True, this was considerably less than B. Fedorov had been hoping to receive (R100 million apiece), but you have to grab what you can.... The "victims" did not even try to appeal against the decision — presumably because any such attempt would be futile.

Military & Nuclear Issues

Premier Interviewed on Defense Industry Welfare

MM2911150795 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 1

[Unattributed interview with Russian premier Viktor Chernomyrdin under the "The Premier Answers" rubric; place and date not given: "We Must Not Forget Our Defense Industry!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] Viktor Stepanovich, as you know, our country created its nuclear missile complex through the enormous efforts of the entire nation. For many years, the complex was headed by V.P. Makeyev, chief designer of the missiles launched from the bottom of the ocean. Creators of missiles not only had and still have the greatest intellectual potential, but also the most powerful research base, including fantastic laboratories which simulate ocean conditions. But now the creators of our missiles are living in poverty.

[Chernomyrdin] The government believes that the stabilization of our national economy depends directly on the economic stabilization of Russia's defense complex as a whole and, in particular, on the stabilization of the economic situation of defense enterprises in regions with significant scientific and industrial potential.

In connection with this, additional instructions have been issued to the Russian Ministry of Finance to ensure that conversion programs in the defense industry are financed on the scale set out in the federal budget for 1995 and approved by the State Program for the Conversion of the Defense Industry in 1995-1997.

I think that allocating resources on this scale will largely help to solve the conversion problems of defense enterprises. I should point out, however, that, in view of the very severe budget deficit, regions and enterprises must work even harder to attract sources of finance for their conversion programs from outside the budget.

We do need a missile shield, of course, as a deterrence factor. That is why we signed a protocol on 26 September 1995 to approve a system of measures to attract resources to finance the purchase of arms and military equipment, and also research and development relating to the state defense order. These measures are being implemented and strictly monitored.

The scientific potential of the defense industry is not only used to improve military equipment, but also to develop civilian equipment in line with government-approved conversion programs (baby food production lines, oil and gas equipment, and so forth).

14th Army Commander Cites Violations Under Lebed

LD2911161395 Moscow NTV in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Nov 95

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Lenskiy from the Dniester region; passages in quotation marks are recorded; from the "Segodnya" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fate of the former 14th Russian Federation army is increasingly unclear. The situation in the army may without exaggeration be described as scandalous. Our special reportage today deals with this:

[General Valeriy Yevnevich, commander of the operational group of Russian Armed Forces in the Dniester Region, shown at a meeting of officers and others] "I told the officers, you [passage indistinct] relations, you know."

[Correspondent Vladimir Lenskiy] This was how Gen. Yevnevich prefaced his account of legal violations in the former 14th army, when it was commanded by Aleksandr Lebed. Some instances were discovered by sheer chance, to judge from what Valeriy Yevnevich said. For instance, the illegal writing off and sale of the armored transport repair works together with 30 KRAZ and KamAZ vehicles was discovered only after Ukrainian customs officials detained on the border a convoy of military vehicles with forged technical warrants and passes.

[Yevnevich, at meeting] "The ensuing investigation showed that the vehicles of the former 14th Army were, as I said, written off illegally, that is, they in effect disappeared and seemingly ceased to exist. In fact, they did exist, and these 30 vehicles were secretly moved onto the territory of Russia."

[Lenskiy] At the beginning of 1994, a certain Moscow firm received money from the 14th Army to manufacture six hang gliders. The firm has now officially gone bankrupt, and the army never received its strange order.

[Yevnevich] "What does the army want a hang glider for, that's what I don't understand. They don't form part of our equipment, nobody needs them. It's just incomprehensible."

[Lenskiy] However, the biggest violations have been found in housing allocation. In Tiraspol, an officer could buy for $300 a forged certificate testifying that he had moved out of his apartment in the Dniester Region. On these grounds, an officer could demand that he be provided with a new apartment. The certificates are printed in the 14th Army printing press. Through these, it was possible to go for more serious falsifications.

[Yevnevich] "The motor vehicle service head of the former army, Colonel Gulyayev, had an apartment in Crimea, an apartment here in Tiraspol, and a four-room apartment was purchased in Voronezh."

[Lenskiy] Gen. Yevnevich says that 14th Army apartments were received by people who had never served in it:

[Yevnevich] "Aleksandr Ivanovich [Lebed] bought one for his son-in-law. His son-in-law serves in the army, but let him get an apartment where he is allocated one. An apartment was bought in Tula at the expense of the 14th Army."

[Lenskiy] Former 14th Army prosecutor Vasiliy Timoshenko has more detailed official information about Gen. Lebed's son-in-law, Senior Lieutenant Lyagutin:

[Timoshenko] "At one time, he was gravely wounded in the chest while fulfilling his official duties, and this apartment was allocated to him by decision of the defense minister."

[Lenskiy] An investigation is being conducted into all this information, the prosecutor has said. Timoshenko thinks that prerequisites for violations in the 14th Army were created by the confusion surrounding its disbandment. The personnel is being dismissed and there is nobody to supervise the equipment that is left. For example, the radio-technical battalion, which is 70 percent contract servicemen, is being cut by more than half. The high combat alert units which monitor airspace and carry out reconnaissance work simply will not be able to function after this. There will be nobody to guard even expensive equipment. It costs too much to withdraw it to Russia across two borders. Given such a difficult situation, the prosecutor of the former 14th Army is not inclined to put the blame for violations of the law on retired Gen. Lebed:

[Timoshenko] "How does the matter stand regarding criminal negligence on the part of the commander when the commander does not supervise everything?"

[Lenskiy] Of course, only an investigation and a court can establish the guilt of the former commander, who nevertheless ought to be supervising the situation in his unit. The results of the investigation into the violations in the former 14th army are hardly likely to come soon. The local military prosecutor needs to get answers from Russia to 4,000 enquiries. In addition, during the investigation, it will be necessary to deal with the prosecutor of the unrecognized Dniester Moldovan Republic, and this will also complicate the investigation.

Nuclear Plant Workers Threaten To Turn Off Reactors

LD2911173095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1700 GMT 29 Nov 95

[By Anna Varshavskaya]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW November 29 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian trade union of nuclear power plants has for the first time threatened to switch off reactors demanding back wages for the employees.

On Thursday [30 November] warning protest actions will be held at the plants, chairman of the trade union Vladimir Startsev told a press conference on Wednesday.

Vice-president of the Rosenergoatom state-run concern Yevgeniy Ignatenko added that nuclear plant operators had not been paid for three months on average and that a "hard moral and psycological situation" had developed at the enterprises.

Startsev, in his turn, attacked the government for what he said was "a provocative resolution" which took away 90 per cent of finances earned by the plants and allowed them to keep the rest.

Startsev explained that before the resolution was passed the plants could keep half of their earnings which was enough to pay the wages. "Now the situation is fraught with a financial collapse", he warned.

The debt of the nuclear power engineering industry to the state budget amounts to 400 billion roubles at present, while consumers owe the plant 2.5 trillion roubles. In October consumers paid only three per cent of their debts to the plants.

Nuclear Lobby Seeks To Renew Testing

MM2911151195 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by Valentin Karkavtsev: "Will the Nuclear Test Site on Novaya Zemlya Come Back to Life?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian president is adamant that nuclear tests should never again take place in our country. However, the nuclear lobby is increasingly insistent in its proposal to explode several more devices [zaryady] on Novaya Zemlya before the signing of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. The analysis material sent to the government (especially from Arzamas-16) justifies this with reference to the fact that the warheads have been in storage for a long time — it is not known what processes are taking place inside them. Computer simulation provides no answers to these questions. There is an opinion, for example, that after five or six years plutonium begins to exert a corrosive influence directly on the warhead casing — a real threat then arises to those who store the munitions. Many nuclear scientists believe that it is necessary to carry out a series of explosions in order to improve the quality of warhead storage.

As is well known, France and China are continuing to explode warheads. Soon America will join them. On 27 October the U.S. Department of Energy announced that six hydronuclear [gidroyadernyye] tests would be carried out in 1996-1997. The site of the tests is a 330-meter shaft at the Nevada test site. The date of the first test, which will be carried out by the Los Alamos laboratory, is 18 June 1996. The second explosion will rock the bowels of the earth 21 September. There will be another four in 1997, effectively after the conclusion of the aforementioned treaty, which is scheduled to be signed next year.

How do hydronuclear explosions differ from conventional [obychnyye] ones? First, the Americans are using bombs with a smaller yield — only a few dozen tonnes. Second, no chain reaction results. "But in any case plutonium is being used, therefore there is no 100-percent certainty that radioactive substances will not escape" — this is the opinion of representatives of the Russian branch of "Greenpeace."

No one can now say for sure whether Russia will react to the U.S. decision with a series of explosions of its own. At any rate, the Americans have presented our nuclear lobby with an additional trump card. Moreover, the Russian military constantly harps on the fact that Jacques Chirac's government is shaking Mururoa Atoll specifically in order to complete the development of its latest submarine-launched missiles — can we afford to lag behind? So far only the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has voiced concern over the French and U.S. "initiative."

Be that as it may, as the architect of the moratorium Russia today remains in proud isolation — the test sites of other states continue to operate. Moreover, more, no one has closed our Novaya.

Zemlya, the shafts are ready, there is no shortage of ammunition....

Federal Assembly

Committee Head on Rejection of Federation Council Bill

MM2911174495 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 29 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by Olga Burkaleva: "The Federation Council Wants To Be Formed in Its Own Way. The Question of Forming the Upper Chamber of the Federal Parliament Was Once Again on the Agenda of the 28 November Extraordinary Session of the Federation Council"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The new Law on the Procedure for Forming the Federation Council, adopted by the State Duma 17 November, has shared the fate of its predecessors and failed to receive the approval of the upper chamber.

As the result of a compromise between the president and the State Duma the rejected law stated that the Federation Council includes, ex officio, the heads of the [local] executive and representative branches, but elections of heads of the executive branch have to be completed no later than December 1996. That is, compared with the previous law, the timing of the elections has been extended by a further six months. This creates a situation in which the election of the president will be held while the governors he appointed are in office, and subsequently the people will decide whether to leave the previous administration head in place or elect a new one.

Vasiliy Tarasenko, chairman of the upper chamber's Committee for Federation Affairs, the Federation Treaty, and Regional Policy, told ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI that the four points which the State Duma adopted on the subject of forming the Federation Council can hardly be called a law in the full sense of the word. The committee's conclusion deems that the law does not conform to the constitution, since it violates the principles of people's power, federalism, and separation of powers. In addition, Article 99 of the Constitution states that the Federal Assembly is a permanently functioning organ — which means, the Federation Council committee concludes, that not only the Duma but also the Federation Council works on a permanent basis. This is impossible under the newly adopted law, since the heads of the executive and representative branches have a great deal to do in the regions, and they will be able to pay only occasional, brief visits to Moscow. That is, the Federation Council apparatus will be landed with the main work of making expert appraisals of laws, and it will virtually become the main master of the upper house. In the opinion of V. Tarasenko, it is worth going back to consider the first version of the law, which the president vetoed, and eliminating the disputed points. Precisely that version, in the committee chairman's opinion, was the fruit of agreement between not only the Duma and the presidential side but also the Federation Council. If the appropriate additional work were carried out, it would not take long to adopt it.

The senators devoted a sizable part of yesterday's discussion to the version of the draft law prepared by a working group of the Federation Council. It was adopted in the end. The chamber intends to send its draft law to the State Duma for examination by way of a legislative initiative in the very near future.

Local Election Edict Seen Contravening Federal Law

MM2911164095 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Nov 95 p 6

[Unattributed report: "At the State Duma: Federation Components' Rights Violated"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the countless appeals from legislative (representative) organs of Russian Federation components on elections to Russian Federation components' legislative (representative) organs and to local self-government organs the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma has adopted a decree "On Elections in Russian Federation Components" and has asked the Russian Federation Constitutional Court whether the Russian Federation presidential edict "On Elections to Russian Federation Components' Organs of State Power and to Local Self-Government Organs" of 17 September 1995 conforms with the Constitution.

According to the State Duma, Points 1 and 3 of the edict contravene the fundamental principles of the constitutional system enshrined in the Russian Federation Constitution. Under Article 76 (Point 4) of the Constitution Russian Federation components exercise their own legal regulation, including the passage of laws and other normative legal enactments. The question of holding elections to Russian Federation components' organs of state power is not on the list of articles subject to joint jurisdiction.

Point 4 of the edict contravenes Article 12 of the Russian Federation Constitution, which says: "Organs of local self-government do not form part of the system of organs of state power." This provision is concretized in Article 14 Point 5 of the federal law "On the General Principles of the Organization of Local Self-Government in the Russian Federation" passed by the State Duma 12 August 1995 and signed by the Russian Federation president 28 August 1995.

When signing the federal law "On the General Principles of the Organization of Local Self-Government in the Russian Federation" 28 August 1995, the Russian Federation president guaranteed (Article 58) that elections of representative organs of local self-government and of local self-government officials would be held no later than six months after the law's entry into force, i.e. no later than February 1996. In this connection, according to the State Duma, Point 4 of the edict, which establishes that elections to local self-government organs are to be held in December 1996, directly contravenes the aforesaid federal law.

Duma Deputy Criticizes Grachev 'Compromise' With NATO

LD2911125895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1135 GMT 29 Nov 95

[By Anatoliy Yurkin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 29 (ITAR-TASS) — A consultative committee under the "16 plus 1" formula will enable Russia to receive information on NATO operations on the Balkans but will not give the right to participate in decision-making, Major-General of the Air Force Nikolay Bezborodov, deputy chairman of the State Duma (Russian parliament lower chamber) Defence Committee, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS here on Wednesday.

"A compromise solution" (announced by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev in Brussels on Tuesday) on a form of Russia's participation in political control over the peace-keeping operation of NATO multinational forces on the Balkans by establishing a consultative committee is disputable and must be attentively studied, Bezborodov claimed.

According to the legislator, a real appraisal of the situation is also necessary due to the fact that there is no official decision on setting up such a committee. It will be taken by the political leadership of Russia and the North Atlantic alliance in the near future, before troops are dispatched to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"Our country has no chance for the time being to reach a principled understanding on partnership equality by excluding a provision (infringing on national interests) on "the right of Russia to make only recommendations to the NATO Council which is not obliged to take them into account when adopting final decisions," the lawmaker noted.

In the general's opinion, the principled question on taking decisions during the operation on the Balkans under the code-name "Wild Horse" only by the NATO Council puts Russia into a subordinated position. Besides, the "16 plus 1" formula deprives, in actual fact, Russia of the veto right at the U.N. Security Council.

The above makes one think about prospects for and the nature of relations between Russia and NATO as well as about a U.S. role in strengthening European security structures, the deputy chairman noted.

"One should also take into account that Serb population with whom I happened to talk during my business trip to republics of former Yugoslavia, regards the dispatch of NATO troops to their lands as an occupation.

"Therefore, implementation of the peace agreements reached in Dayton may be clouded with conflict situations and sufferings," Bezborodov continued.

"Under such circumstances," he underlined, "Russia should not share responsibility with NATO member states even if a Russian peace-keeping brigade is included in an American division and obeys orders of North Atlantic generals," Bezborodov concluded.

Duma Official: 'Weakness' Caused Chechen Outbreak

LD2811132895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1129 GMT 28 Nov 95

[By Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 28 (ITAR-TASS) — "The main reason of the armed conflict in Chechnya is lack of civilian and parliamentary control over the military and law enforcement bodies," Chairman of the Duma Defence Committee Sergey Yushenkov told a press conference in the State Duma today. It was devoted to the anniversary of the abortive assault on Groznyy, launched by Chechen opposition forces on November 6, 1994.

Yushenkov said that another reason behind the outbreak of the war "is weakness of the judicial power, since neither the Constitutional nor Supreme Courts are really objective arbitrators, capable of judging the actions of other branches of power".

The main lesson of the Chechen events, Yushenkov stated is that "force should under no circumstances be used to resolve ethnic problems". "If we today fail to draw correct conclusions from what has happened, we shall land in an extremely difficult situation, linked primarily with the use of armed forces," Yushenkov stressed.

Legislative, Regulatory Documents 19-25 Nov

96P50021

[FBIS Media Note] The following is a listing of Russian legislation recently published in the press of the Russian

Federation compiled by FBIS. Numbers within parens indicate approximate wordage. Entries followed by the notation "Text" have been translated into English and are available in FBIS publications.

SECTION I: ECONOMIC LEGISLATION (EXPORT-IMPORT, BANKING, PRIVATIZATION, AUCTIONS, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT)

Government 23 October Directive No. 1455 On Expanding Government Information Publications. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 6) (250) (Text)

Government 23 October Directive No. 1464 On Plan To Complete Volga Bridge In Ulyanovsk. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 3) (450)

Government 24 October Directive No. 1470 On Conversion Of Defense Plants In Sverdlovsk Oblast To Produce Philips TV's Etc. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 6) (150) (Text)

Government 24 October Directive No. 1473 On Opening Cheboksary Airport To International Flights. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 6) (150)

Government 28 October Decree No. 1037 On Measures To Support Domestic Movie Industry, Cinema Network. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 3) (1100)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 2 November Government Decree No. 1064 On Partial Changes In Rates Of Import Customs Duties. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 4) (300)

Government 2 November Decree No. 1074 On Medical Certification Of People Hired To Fill Management Positions In The Tax Police. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 6) (200)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 2 November Government Decree No. 1084 On Russian Federation's Accession To 6 December 1961 Customs Convention On ATA Carnet For Temporary Import Of Goods And 26 Jun 1990 Convention On Temporary Import With Adoption Of Several Appendixes. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 4) (450)

Government 2 November Directive No. 1523 Listing Federal Aid To Agricultural Regions Hit By Drought, Other Problems. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 6) (400)

Government 5 November Directive No. 1547 Appropriating R5 Billion For Potato Procurements. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 3) (50)

Yeltsin 6 November Edict No. 1077 On Reducing Import Duties To Assist New Investment. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 3) (250) (Text)

Yeltsin 7 November Directive No. 496 Setting Up Working Commission On The Budget. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 3) (350) (Text)

Yeltsin 18 November Edict No. 1157 On Measures To Protect Rights Of Depositors And Shareholders Who Have Suffered As Result Of Malfeasance On Russia's Financial And Stock Markets. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Nov 95 p 3) (2300)

Yeltsin 21 November Edict No. 1163 On Urgent Measures To Tighten Currency Control System In Russian Federation. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 5) (800) (Text)

Chairman Chubays Signs Decree Of Federal Commission On Securities And Share Market Under RF Government Ref Approval Of Standard Agreement On Conducting Audit Of Accounts In Connection With Trustee Management Of Share Investment Funds, Accompanied By Text Of Standard Agreement. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 p 6) (150/600)

SECTION II: POLITICAL (INTERNATIONAL AND CIS AFFAIRS, ELECTIONS, CRIME, POLLUTION)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 12 October Government Decree No. 1005 On Federal Targeted Program "Support For Russian State Printing Sector And Book Publishing 1996-2001," Accompanied By Text Of Federal Program. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 pp 4-6) (400/15500)

Government 13 October Decree No. 1015 On Expediency Of Enlisting FRG Credit For Modernization Of Cheboksary Ceramic Plant Producing Sanitary Ware Plus Commentary By P. Synkin. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 p 3) (250/550)

Government 13 October Directive No. 1420 Authorizing Gazprom To Negotiate With Australia's BHP Group On Oil, Gas Extraction In Pechora Sea, Plus List Of Official Delegation Under Deputy Fuel And Energy Minister Shatalov. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 3) (400) (Text)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 23 October Government Decree No. 1443 Naming Working Group To Prepare Question For Government Session And Resolve Practical Issues On The Spot In Context Of Measures To Eliminate Consequences Of Ossetian-Ingushetian Conflict Of October-November 1992. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 4) (600)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 24 October Government Decree No. 1032 On Plan Of Basic Measures On Questions Of Civil Defense And Averting And Eliminating Emergencies In 1996, Accompanied By Sharov Commentary. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 4) (200/500) (Text)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 24 October Government Directive No. 1474 On Partially Compensating LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Editorial Office For Expenses Incurred In Publishing And Delivering Newspaper To CIS And Baltic States. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 4) (100)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 24 October Government Directive No. 1478 Authorizing State Customs Committee, By Agreement With Foreign Ministry, To Halt Action For Russian Federation Of Several International Treaties Dating Back To Soviet Era. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 4) (650)

Government 2 November Directive No. 1522 Appropriating Money To Aid Population Of N. Afghanistan, Tajik Refugees. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 3) (150)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 2 November Government Directive No. 1527 On Repayment Of Former USSR's Debt To CEMA Countries By Means Of Russian Deliveries Of Commodities Agreed With The Said States, Accompanied By Text Of Procedure To Be Followed. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 4) (100/500) (Text)

Government 2 November Directive No. 1528 Sanctioning Railways Ministry Talks With Counterpart In Slovakia. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 6) (50)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 5 November Government Decree No. 1095 Ratifying Statute On Licensing Activity In Connection With Employment Of Russian Citizens Abroad, Accompanied By Text Of Statute. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 11) (100/1950)

Government 5 November Decree No. 1105 On Measures To Develop Network Of Social Assistance Establishments For Homeless And Unemployed. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 p 3) (750)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 5 November Government Decree No. 1113 On Unified State System For Averting And Eliminating Emergencies, Accompanied By Text Of Statute On Same. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 5) (1200/5000) (Text)

Government 5 November Directive No. 1549 Agreeing With Foreign Ministry Proposal That Negotiations Be Conducted On Russian, Mongolian Public Health Cooperation. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 p 3) (80)

Yeltsin 7 November Directive No. 497 On Ratification Of Statute On Interagency Panel To Prepare For Russia's Admittance To Council Of Europe, Accompanied By Text Of Statute. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 95 p 4) (50/650) (Text)

RF Government 8 November Directive No. 1560 On Appointment Of V.P. Strashko As Deputy Representative Of Russian President In Chechnya, Relieving Him Of Post As Deputy Minister Of Interior. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 p 3) (100) (Text)

Presidential 17 November Edict No. 1154 Renaming Various Artillery Training Establishments. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 p 3) (90) (Text)

Government Directive No. 1581 Announcing 8 December Local Government Union Congress. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 p 1) (400) (Text)

Text Of Federal Law On Amendments, Additions To RF Law On Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office, Passed By State Duma 18 Oct 95, Accompanied By Interview With Deputy General Prosecutor Kekhlerov. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Nov 95 pp 3-5) (14,500/700)

Draft Treaty Between RF Government And Government Of Azerbaijan On Transit Of Azerbaijani Petroleum Across RF Territory. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 11) (1100) (Text)

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportage; Election Issues, Politics, Military

Separatists' Plan To Disrupt Elections Seen

LD2911220095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1855 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Nov 29 (INTERFAX) — Chechen separatists under Dzhokar Dudayev have drafted a detailed plan of action to disrupt the presidential elections in Chechnya on December 17, a reliable source in Groznyy told INTERFAX Wednesday.

According to the source, a recent meeting of field commanders presided over by Dudayev decided to assign each field commander to a number of specific villages where he will be carrying all necessary activities to disrupt the elections campaign and the elections.

In particular, the separatists will intensify protest rallies and hamper all activities by local authorities. They will also coerce newcomers not to take part in the elections, the source said.

The rebels will also stage terrorist acts against presidential and parliamentary candidates, the source said.

Yarikhanov Denies Plan To Disrupt Elections

LD2911221395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1855 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Nov 29 (INTERFAX) — The Chechen separatists' chief negotiator at talks with Moscow Khozh-Akhmed Yarikhanov told INTERFAX today that "the Chechen leadership (led by Dzhokhar Dudayev — IF) does not intend to take any special measures to disrupt elections of the head of the Chechen Republic."

The elections in Chechnya are set for December 17.

"Nearly the entire people are already counter-acting holding of these elections," Yarikhanov said.

Even the roundtable of Chechen political parties and movements convened by the federal civilian administration in Chechnya on November 28 decided to boycott these elections, Yarikhanov said.

"We do not anticipate holding any terrorist acts either," Yarikhanov said.

"These elections will be farce," he said. "Less than 20 days are left before the elections but not a single electoral district, where people could learn candidates' programs, has so far been created in the republic," Yarikhanov said.

The Popular Union for the Republic's Revival has proposed Ruslan Khasbulatov as a candidate to the he. of the Chechen Republic, Yarikhanov said. "However, Khasbulatov has not so far given his consent [to run in the elections — IF]," he added.

Yarikhanov said he believed that after Khasbulatov considered the situation in Chechnya he would not run for the head of the Chechen Republic.

Dudayev Supporter: Elections 'Doomed To Fail'

LD2911223895 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The attitude of Dudayev's side to the intention to hold the elections to the State Duma in Chechnya is unequivocally negative. Here, in particular, is the opinion of Akhmed Zakayev, a man close to Dudayev.

[Begin Zakayev recording] I think no one will take part in these elections. If the Russian side wants to deceive itself again by relying on the puppets they have installed here, they are deluding both themselves and Russian citizens, and this will yield nothing good.

As regards the case of the eight candidates who have allegedly collected signatures and are now running for the State Duma, we can tell you about how these lists are being compiled. A list is given. People are told that they are receiving humanitarian aid and in return they should give their signatures and write down all their passport details and their addresses. We knew this, but we did not stand in the way. People have already lost so much; let them receive at least this minimum, but in doing this they will not buy votes in Chechnya. This is a venture doomed to fail. [end recording]

Presidential Candidate Mavlatov Starts Campaign

LD2911223495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1855 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Nov 29 (INTERFAX) — A fourth presidential candidate in Chechnya, Zaindi Mavlatov, launched his election campaign Wednesday [29 November]. The presidential elections in Chechnya will be held on December 17.

A colonel in the reserves, Mavlatov, 46, served in the Soviet and Russian interior troops and armed forces from 1963 to 1993. He retired as brigade commander to work as secretary of the Security Council of Ingushetia until March 1995 and then as deputy chairman of a commercial bank.

In addition to him, present Prime Minister Doku Zavgayev, psychic Mavsar Aduyev and the chairman of the

State Publishing Committee, Lecho Salekhov, are running for Chechnya's presidency. However, Zavgayev is the only registered presidential candidate so far.

The former chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet, Ruslan Khasbulatov, is expected to announce his intention to join the presidential race within the next few days.

Communists 'Unanimously' Support Zavgayev

LD3011124395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1052 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By Aleksandr Kharchenko and Sharip Asuyev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, November 30 (ITAR-TASS) — Over 50 delegates who took part in the first congress of the Chechen Communist Party held today have unanimously supported Doku Zavgayev who was nominated a candidate to the post of the head of Chechnya.

The congress of communists held now is considered to be the first congress of the Chechen Communist Party because there was no republican communist organization in Chechnya until now. Doku Zavgayev was the head of the organization of Chechen communists which had a status of a regional organization.

At today's congress it was pointed out that the Chechen Communist Party is an independent organization and has no organizational links with the Russian Communist Party led by Gennadiy Zyuganov.

The republican organization of the Chechen Communist Party numbers around 5,000 members, organizers of the congress told ITAR-TASS.

Zavgayev Interviewed on Situation

MM2911152895 Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Nov 95 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Chechen Government head Doku Zavgayev by Vadim Karpov in Groznyy; date not given: "Toward Special Status"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The government palace is in the building of the "Nefteproyekt" institute in central Groznyy, and the office of government head Doku Gapurovich Zavgayev is on the second floor. But I am taken to the airport for my meeting with him. There are armored personnel carriers and trucks full of soldiers on the road snaking between concrete blocks. There are enforced halts and jams.... I see the smashed-up bridge, site of the assassination attempt on Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov. There is an extra post there now. On both sides of the road there are wooden notices saying: "Mines." In front an armored personnel carrier is charging along — its armor carries a warning in white paint: "Do not pass, I open fire without warning." Nobody tries to pass it.

The airport is ringed with military hardware. But I can see that they have also found room for a commercial kiosk. The soldiers are eagerly treating themselves to "Snickers" bars. The prices are at Moscow levels. There are guards in civilian clothing and in uniform in every corridor of the terminal building. You constantly hear the question: "Who goes there?" The light suddenly goes out and everything is plunged into darkness. Amid flickering shadows we approach D. Zavgayev's residence. I am asked to leave my bag.

I find myself in a small, hotel-type suite consisting of two tiny rooms. The windows are tightly curtained. The occupant receives his guests at his desk, by candlelight. He is wearing slippers, a warm-up suit, and...a sheepskin coat — heating is clearly a problem here. Phones ring constantly. O. Lobov calls several times. The main topic at the moment is the elections....

[Karpov] Why are you receiving visitors at the airport?

[Zavgayev] Because I live here. My apartment in the city center was burned out during the hostilities. It burned to the ground. I'm particularly sad about my library, the household archives, and my photographs. It may have been junk, but it had sentimental value.... Fortunately nobody was hurt. By that time my daughters — I have three — had gone to Moscow. The eldest is a candidate of chemical sciences, the middle one is a doctor, and the youngest is an economist.

[Karpov] Recently you had been living in Moscow — but now you have come back?

[Zavgayev] I had to come. I am here, if you like, out of both moral duty and common sense. That is not just talk. Everything has been destroyed. From civil peace in the republic and the people's age-old traditions, to the economy. Everything is in ruins. The republic is full of weapons, and you often have to keep one in your hand to protect yourself because of the rampant crime. Violence, robberies, armed raids, bandits on the highways — all this has become the norm.

In this situation the only person who can come to power is someone who is motivated by the fatherland's interests and lives for them. There are more and more such people in my team. The people want peace, they want to return to creative work. They want no more undeserved grievances, and an end to the replacement of their opinion by the opinion of politicized groupings that have undeservedly arrogated to themselves the right to speak in the name of the people.

One instrument for overcoming the crisis, or to be more accurate the national disaster, must be authorities elected by the people. First elections of the head of the republic, then parliamentary elections, and finally the adoption of a constitution. Chechens have the right to vote. But in recent years they have been deprived of that right.

[Karpov] What about Dudayev? After all, he too represents certain forces and the election results depend on him.

[Zavgayev] So far as I am concerned he is one of hundreds of thousands of citizens of the republic. And no more than that. As for authority, we have many influential, educated, cultured people. In villages, cities, and rayons. They are well known, respected, and greatly appreciated. Only they are modest people and do not court publicity.

Dudayev's force is actually not all that great — a few uncoordinated armed formations. The overwhelming majority of field commanders are prepared to lay down their arms and want to do so. [Zavgayev ends]

For Your Information:

The closing date for applying to take part in the elections as a contender for the post of head of the republic is 2 December — 15 days before the elections themselves. At present three candidates have collected the necessary number of votes for registration — D. Zavgayev, R. Khasbulatov, and S. Aduyev. Dudayev too may officially join in the election campaign. (Although he is on the wanted list as a criminal, he has not been convicted.)

[Karpov] What is your own view of the fact that Dudayev, your potential rival, has been proclaimed a criminal?

[Zavgayev] Personally I do not know the essence of the charges. All I know is that the General Prosecutor's Office has instituted a criminal case against him.

[Karpov] Under the law on elections in Chechnya, servicemen and members of their families in military units on the republic's territory can take part in them. I know that there are mixed feelings about this.

[Zavgayev] Servicemen's participation in the voting is not of fundamental importance. There are hundreds of thousands of local residents voting in the republic. Anyhow, how have the military done wrong in the eyes of the electoral law? They cannot always vote at their place of residence — they may be on assignment or on leave. And Chechen refugees (around 400,000 people) — they are scattered throughout Russia — can themselves elect according to their place of residence. [Zavgayev ends]

For Your Information:

According to certain information, around 40,000 servicemen may take part in the voting. Including 7,000 stationed permanently in the republic.

[Karpov] But will the elections bring accord if the potential voters include so many who have fought and have shot by no means at sporting targets?

[Zavgayev] I am currently looking at a draft Russian Federation presidential edict on an amnesty. It will clearly be signed in the next few days. What can be said about the document? Questions of pardons will be considered not "wholesale," but individually, at a session of a special commission. This is to include representatives of villages and rayons — they know the situation and the people. They know for certain who has blood on their hands and who does not.

[Karpov] Does this mean that a gunman must lay down his weapons and give himself up without knowing what lies in store for him? Somehow I don't think this is realistic.

[Zavgayev] Let us shelve the discussion for the moment. It is just a draft, we are still working on it. Let us not speculate to ensure that we do not harm the cause.

[Karpov] What problems are you having to resolve as head of the republic? What have you done today, for instance?

[Zavgayev] In the morning I met with Smirnov, chief of administration of the Field Bank. We examined a plan for the movement of money to ensure that there are no delays in the payment of wages. Together with the chairman of the grain products committee I decided how to help the worst-off. I also had a meeting with Cholsayev, chairman of the property committee. An inventory of surviving property is being made. It is important to know what we can rely on in the economy. For instance, 60 percent of the petrochemical complex has survived....

I get a great deal of mail. The letters touch on all sorts of topics: housing, crime, bureaucrats.... For instance, workers at a city market sent in a complaint: "We are charged $200 in order to set up a new stall...." This too must be investigated. A letter came in from Kizlyar asking me to take part in celebrations to mark the 110th anniversary of the local cognac factory.... An unusual letter nowadays.

[Karpov] Suppose you win the upcoming elections. What would be your first steps?

[Zavgayev] First of all we must ensure that war ceases to be a part of our lives and the wave of crime abates.

We must end the current level of unemployment, give the overwhelming majority the opportunity to work, and create jobs. We must fully compensate for the material losses, restore housing, and provide financial aid. We need a state program for the medical and psychological rehabilitation of the population. Especially young people. What have these 17- and 18-year-old kids seen in the last few years? Lies, deception, war, and bloodshed. They have no education or occupation. We have 100,000-120,000 such people. What is to become of them? Many suffer from overexcitability and mental problems.

And what about orphans? There are lots of them, thousands of them. Finally, there are crippled children — victims of war. The country does not even have legislation protecting their interests. These unfortunates cannot simply be equated with disabled children. That would be immoral, to say the least.

[Karpov] How do you envision Chechnya's relations with Russia?

[Zavgayev] We are currently drafting the basic principles of these relations. One thing is clear — we have talked with Yeltsin, and he supported the idea: The republic must have special status. And this is justified. There has been a devastating war and enterprises have been halted. In order to rapidly restore the economy, we need to have customs and tax breaks and to have the right of independent access to the international market and the right to attract investors....

[Karpov] Before the war life in the republic was being Islamicized — in politics, education, the economy....

[Zavgayev] Of course, the Islamic factor will continue to be present. But what there used to be was more pseudo-Islamicization at the level of religious tricksters.

[Karpov] There was an attempt on your life recently....

[Zavgayev] This came as a total surprise to me. I came to my people with good intentions of helping them at a difficult time. And I still feel I must be dreaming — I cannot believe what happened. It was more than unexpected. And likewise so far as Romanov and Lobov are concerned. After all, for them too the most important thing was and remains how to secure peace....

Report Sums Up First Year of Chechnya War

MK2911131495 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Nov 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by Ilya Maksakov and Vladimir Pavlenko: "First Year of War Is Past. Second Winter of Chechen Campaign Sets In"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Talking to journalists, Chechens ask them to tell the truth about their republic, though they do not quite believe this is possible, accusing the entire press and television of lying. But it is impossible to describe the situation in Chechnya so that the story will be to the liking of all Chechens, local Russians (or rather, those still remaining there), military people, all the authorities there, and so that it does not leave supporters of the "lawfully elected" president of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria hurt. Four years after Dzhokhar Dudayev's "inauguration" and a year after Russian troops were brought into Chechnya, everything the people have gone through in the meantime can be called a tragedy, without fear of being accused of warping the truth. [passage omitted]

Not all people here are nostalgic for the three years of "independence." It is assumed that the republic's new leader, Doku Zavgayev, enjoys inexhaustible authority among the people who cherish memories of the time when the Checheno-Ingushetia Supreme Soviet was functioning. Truth be told, I did not happen to meet such people. The people either feel hurt that he left the Chechens to the mercy of fate in 1991 or simply call Zavgayev an impostor. Try he as he may to dissociate himself from "Russian bayonets," all people realize that it is Russian bayonets that helped him become head of the republic. Much could have been forgiven Zavgayev had he come along at least last November, before the fighting began, not now.

Notwithstanding this, Zavgayev is going full blast forming new bodies of power around himself. In order finally to assert himself in the leader's role, he has created a new Chechen militia [police]. Or to be more precise, it existed before, under Khadzhiyev, but it is Zavgayev who let the militiamen take the oath of allegiance, turning the day into a national event. The orderly rows of well-outfitted new enforcers of law and order betrayed no signs of their part in fighting on Dudayev's side in the past. However, Ministry of Internal Affairs spokesmen admit, most of the new militiamen valiantly fought in "the illegal armed formations." One may of course speak of a wrenching change in their political beliefs and of a thirst for peace and accord in Chechnya, which require stability and calm. But, more likely, they are simply motivated by the desire to provide for themselves and their families in these hard times of unemployment and a lack of money. It is in order to avoid armed clashes that the night streets in Groznyy are patrolled by joint details of Russian and Chechen servicemen. But the number of armed clashes is not diminishing. [passage omitted]

Local residents are motivated to cooperate with the regime by more than a desire for civil accord. As everywhere in Russia, and as it was in Chechnya in the past, there is a vigorous tussle in the republic for officials' seats. It is being fueled by trillions of rubles funneled into rebuilding the economy and compensation for the suffering population. It is this money that makes the present "state figures" join the race for the positions to distribute this money. I did not happen to see any person who had received any compensation. On the contrary, people complain about having lost all their property, about destroyed housing. Some live either in their own surviving cars or company cars. The new Chechen officials, however, have no time to look into the problems of ordinary residents. Indicative in this respect is the situation in which the government of national revival, the National Accord Committee, the mayor's office, and the city assembly are fighting for street markets in Groznyy. In the absence of accord and dividing lines between the powers of the numerous authorities, everybody is trying to grab this pie, resulting in a situation where one market has several bosses. The disagreeing Chechen authorities always turn to the territorial administration of Russian Federation executive power bodies in the Chechen Republic, whose role is not quite clear. The administration most likely performs the function of a parent keeping an eye on a tussle of the "kids" and interferes when necessary to pull apart and pacify the brazen officials, thereby signaling who is in control there. Moreover, the administration keeps tabs on the progress of the Russian-Chechen talks, while deputy to its head, Vladimir Zorin, has also become deputy head of the Russian delegation. Such activism on his part is primarily attributed to the fact that he is running for the State Duma in Chechnya's only single-seat constituency. One would think it inane to try to be elected by the Chechen people, few of whom contemplate going to the polls. But Zorin shows enough foresight: If the elections [illegible] place after all, those coming to the polls will clearly be "pro-Russian" Chechens, and once Zavgayev withdraws his candidacy, he will stand a good chance. [passage omitted]

[Russian] soldiers were hardly eager to get mixed up in a "second Caucasus war." But, unfortunately, the gloomiest forecasts have come true, and now both the Chechens and Russian military men say that Afghanistan compared to Chechnya was simply child's play. The troops have now been in the republic for one year, sustaining daily losses whose proportionate number indeed exceeds those in the Afghan war. Although the soldiers do not resent journalists, they are not very eager to talk with them. They are reserved, unsociable, shrugging off many questions. They of course disagree with terms like "occupiers" and "murderers," but they find it hard to explain why they are there. They cannot then speak of restoring the constitutional order! Unlike those who fought in the Second World War, and that incidentally includes Chechens, they cannot say they are defending their country. One can generally no longer see untrained lads such as those in the hastily assembled battalions that were thrown in to storm the Chechen capital on New Year's night. There are mainly well-equipped and armed military men who appear to be experienced and confident — thank God, one year has proven enough for that. There are also many hired soldiers. The number of weapons, the strength and state of the troops make one share the conviction of Anatoliy Shkirko, commander of the federal group of forces in Chechnya, when responding to journalists' fears regarding the storming of Groznyy by Chechen units. "Let them try," he said. [passage omitted]

Armored Personnel Carrier Blown Up in Avtury

LD3011000195 Moscow NTV in Russian
1900 GMT 29 Nov 95

[From the "Segodnya" newscast presented by Tatyana Mitkova]

[FBIS Translated Text] Things are relatively quiet in Shatoy so far, but the same cannot be said of the situation near the villages of Argun and Avtury, where our film crew was today.

[Unidentified correspondent] An incident occurred in the suburbs of the village of Avtury today which has already become typical for these places. An armored personnel carrier was blown up and this lead to the outskirts of the villages being fired upon. As a result, several inhabitants, including children, were wounded. A woman was killed. We saw the hardware that had fired upon the village on the road at the scene of the incident. Everybody in the armored personnel carrier survived this time.

[Begin recording, soldier in tank] It was most probably a guided antitank fougasse [as heard], because the first column went over that spot before the second, a tank went by, three armored personnel carriers went by, and there was no explosion demolition, and on the same spot, on that same track, the first vehicle of the next column was blown up. It was most likely a guided fougasse. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The motor vehicle of the commandant of Argun was fired upon in broad daylight today. Grenade launchers mounted on a barrel and firearms were used in an attack upon a checkpoint at the entrance to the town. A soldier was wounded in the leg.

Ingushetia, N. Ossetia Agree To Normalize Relations

LD2911162695 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The RIA news agency has reported that the presidents of Ingushetia and North Ossetia, Ruslan Aushev and Akhsarbek Galazov, have agreed on the complete normalization of relations between these north Caucasus republics. Their relations were disrupted in 1992 owing to an armed conflict. The signing of an official treaty between Ingushetia and North Ossetia is expected in the very near future.

Chernomyrdin Meets With Regional Leaders

MM3011121495 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Is There To Be a Price Reform?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin, the head of the Russian Government, yesterday held his regular scheduled meeting at Government House with a number of leaders of the Russian Federation components in their capacity as members of the Federation Council.

It was devoted to questions of collaboration between the government and the regions in carrying out economic reform, including in 1996. Federal policy on improving the system of regulating prices for energy sources and transportation tariffs was also clarified.

Participating in the meeting were the leaders of Buryatia, Tyva, and Komi, Voronezh, Irkutsk, Leningrad, and Magadan Oblasts, and of several autonomous okrugs in the north and east of the country. One important theme discussed was the question of supplying these regions with basic commodities in the framework of the program for shipping goods to the north.

Economic Issues

Government, Central Bank Extend 'Ruble Corridor'

LD2911215595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1855 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 29 (INTERFAX) — The Russian government and the Central Bank of Russia (CBR) have decided to extend the "ruble corridor" into 1996, well-informed sources told INTERFAX in Moscow Wednesday [29 November].

According to the sources, new ruble boundaries have been determined and will be made public in an official statement Thursday.

The sources said the upper bracket will be below 5,300 rubles.

At present, the ruble may fluctuate between 4,300 and 4,900 per dollar. These boundaries will be valid until December 31, 1995.

Independent experts say the present boundaries are optimal as they consider natural inflation, but prevent surges typical for Russia in the first months of each year.

Observers say the CBR has enough hard currency to prevent the ruble from falling by more than 50 points a week. The main fluctuations will happen in December, they suggest. As a result, the dollar may rise by a maximum of 200 points and then stabilize on the new mark.

Such developments would suit exporters well, easing the consequences of the rapidly rising domestic prices and increasing exports' efficiency.

Little Change Forseen in Currency Band

MM2911173595 Moscow FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by Sergey Mitin, adviser at the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange: "Future of Currency Band Depends on State of Production" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] The varying assessments of the currency band often stem from varying attitudes toward the state of the domestic economy. But it is important that two fundamental points be borne in mind in these discussions. First, the fact that currency policy today depends on a host of factors and that the exchange rate is not determined by the amount of Central Bank intervention in the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange. And second, it is already clear in practice that the currency band will be extended at least twice more for three-month periods. The whole question is what kind of framework it will continue its existence within.

The present situation cannot be compared with the events of six months ago, let alone earlier. Initially, credit emission and inflation produced a steady high demand for currency. The dollar became a kind of security which gave savings relative protection against inflation. However, this application of the dollar in the domestic market was prompted by the undeveloped state of the financial infrastructure, the general economic crisis, and the slow pace of economic reform.

As soon as inflation was slowed, the market was provided with highly remunerative and reliable financial instruments like short-term state bonds and federal loan bonds, and settlements in foreign currency were restricted, it became clear that enterprises and private individuals needed dollars out of habit rather than as a real way of saving.

As already stated, the dollar exchange rate cannot be determined solely by the supply and demand situation at exchange auctions, so the question of the future of the currency band is therefore linked to the government's overall economic policy. At present, however, the memorandum on next year's economic policy is only in the preparation stage.

Nevertheless, it can already be said quite definitely that fighting inflation remains the number one aim for the country's leadership. World experience shows that real economic growth is impossible until you get inflation down to 30-40 percent per year. The government will seek to lower inflation to the 30-percent mark next year and get it down to 15 percent in 1997. But in reality it is considerably more difficult to achieve such figures than to knock the inflation rate down from 15 to 5 percent per month. And then new problems will arise.

A large number of export-oriented enterprises went bust after the completion of financial stabilization in Germany in the twenties. Previously, stable currency earnings and the reduction of prime cost because of the falling exchange rate of the mark had led to a real growth in costs as enterprises made no efforts to choose the most economical production methods. Financial stabilization hit hard enterprises which did not work at lowering costs.

It is clear that similar processes are already under way in Russia. The headline-grabbing dismissals at the Vladimir Tractor Plant are just one step toward reducing production costs. One Moscow ball-bearing plant is also faced with dismissals despite the fact that the enterprise steadily exports a sizable proportion of its output and is not intending to cut back on production volume. The lack of scope for suppliers of raw materials to cut their prices means that enterprises have to use their own devices to cut costs, that is, increase labor productivity. But the question of modernizing industry hinges on considerable investment in promising production units. Export sectors cannot restructure quickly.

The "soft" fixing of the exchange rate leaves the government and the Central Bank with a free hand to maneuver in line with short-term changes in the market. The need to create scope for banks to issue loans to industry on acceptable terms arises here.

Investment is not going into enterprises because of the extremely poor standard of top management and high interest rates. It was possible to keep some savings in rubles this year. Excess liquidity will force many major banks to seek opportunities to issue loans to industry. It is no accident that many banks of the Menatep, Oneksimbank, and the Alfa Bank type are gradually taking on the features of investment banks. But this process of issuing loans to enterprises will not develop overnight. The state is therefore faced with the task of gaining some time — at least until the middle of next year, when the preliminary results of the fight against inflation will be clear.

Here too the currency band has a number of important functions to perform. First, it is a kind of political statement of commitment to a certain economic policy. Second, the band remains a check on inflationary expectations. Here the state has an instrument to regulate the money supply, as it is possible to inject rubles into the economy and also pump them out through the currency market.

While guaranteeing stability, the state retains the opportunity to modify the exchange rate according to the situation exporters find themselves in. The Finance Ministry and the Central Bank appreciate that a slight increase in the dollar-ruble exchange rate is essential to sustain exporters. However, their present policy unequivocally shows that the state has no intention of supporting inefficient export enterprises just because they are export enterprises.

It is interesting that, according to the "Kassandra" sociological service's findings, more than half of the directors of industrial enterprises have no objection in principle to the retention of the currency band. And that is no wonder, because the relatively high ruble exchange rate affords the opportunity to invest resources in modernization at the expense of increasing currency profitability.

All these factors make it possible to suppose that the adjustment of the currency band due in the next three weeks will be altogether insignificant. The lower limit will probably rise to R4,600. However, the critical situation of a number of export sectors, particularly nonferrous metallurgy, will force a slight lowering of the ruble exchange rate. The ruble could lose 4-6 percent against the dollar by March 1996. The upper limit of the currency band will exceed the R5,000 mark no earlier than April.

Such a policy follows from the government's strategic aims. Provided, of course, the 17 December elections do not make catastrophic changes to methods of overcoming the economic crisis.

Banks Divided Over Government's Loans-for-Shares Plan

MK3011074095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 29 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by Rustam Narzikulov: "The Authorities Are Getting Involved in the Banking Conflict"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The war of banks over the Soviet industrial legacy is gaining momentum. In this situation high-level officials involved in devising the loans-for-shares scheme cannot stand aside from the sharp statement by the influential banking trio (Inkombank, Rossiyskiy Kredit, and Alfa-bank), which called for "dates of investment competitions and loans-for-shares auctions to be moved."

In an interview with ITAR-TASS, Aleksandr Livshits, [economics] aide to the Russian president, sought to take a neutral stand in the conflict, by maintaining that competition between banks "has been aggravated by two factors: the basic novelty of the loans-for-shares scheme for Russia and an acute shortage of financial resources in the country."

Indirectly, however, Livshits expressed disagreement with Inkombank, Rossiyskiy Kredit, and Alfa-bank when he stated, "Our common interest is that the federal budget not be left without money when the state owns federal property and is ready to place it in pledge." Boris Yeltsin's aide thus indicated that he was an advocate of the loans-for-shares privatization legalized by the president's edict of 31 August 1995.

Aleksandr Livshits's position could hardly be different given that in his time he provided substantial support to the ideas of "loans-for-shares lobbyists" led by Oneksimbank.

Incidentally, many observers were very surprised yesterday by the fact that the text of the statement carefully avoided mentioning the main organizer and beneficiary of loans-for-shares privatization: Oneksimbank, whereas the main blow was delivered against Menatep, a bank which is claiming "nothing more than" Yukos [oil company].

According to a source which wished to remain anonymous, the mention of Oneksimbank (the main irritant for Rossiyskiy Kredit) was not included in the letter on the insistence of Inkombank and Alfa-bank. They persuaded their partner "not to get involved" at this stage with the most pro-government and pro-presidential credit establishment.

As for Menatep, having fallen under severe criticism from his colleagues, it came out with a response charge targeted primarily at Alfa-bank. A Menatep spokesman said, "Alfa-bank has approached Menatep with a proposal to jointly act as mediators and resell Yukos to foreigners, "splitting the commission." We refused: This is not for us. We are buying a controlling block of stock for ourselves."

Today Inkombank, Rossiyskiy Kredit, and Alfa-bank will hold a joint news conference where they will apparently elaborate on the subject of the inequitable redivision of property. In this connection a statement from First Deputy Premier Anatoliy Chubays should be expected. In the final analysis the banks' accusations are also directed against the main public apologist of loans-for-shares privatization.

Communications Sector Looks to Private Investment

MM3011093395 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 29 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by Aleksey Myasnikov: "Budget: Wait for a Reply"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In 1995 enterprises of the Russian Federation Ministry of Communications will receive from the state no more than 5.5 percent of the [budget's] 3.5 trillion rubles [R], Communications Minister Vladimir Bulgak stated at the all-Russia conference "On the Development Strategy for the 'Communications' Sector in Current Circumstances," which opened yesterday.

Tariffs for communications services are approximately 1,000 times greater than three years ago, while tariffs for electric power and transport are more than 2,000 times greater. In September 1995, the average tariff for using a telephone was about R10,000.

Due to insufficient state funding, the sector is banking on attracting private investment and selling more shares in state communications enterprises. It is planned to obtain $750 million in foreign investments during 1996, which will account for 41.5 percent of all investments in the sector. Increased financial interest in telecommunications by Russian big business is being observed. There is an increase in the amount of capital being attracted from the population within the framework of the "Russian People's Telephone" program through the sale of bonds giving them the right to have a telephone installed in their apartments within a certain period.

Chubays Upbeat on Privatization, Scornful of Communists

MK3011083695 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Bekker: "Anatoliy Chubays: In My Dispute With Opponents, I Have Forever. The Communists and the Congress of Russian Communities Have No Worthy Alternative to the Present Course"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Anatoliy Chubays began his press conference at RIA Novosti yesterday with the statement that "as of now the government does not have a single ruble of debt to pensioners." The first deputy premier indicated that the funds for "senior citizens" had come from the 1 trillion rubles received by the federal budget from the just-ended auctioning of the joint-stock companies "Norilsk Nikel" and "Nafta-Moscow," as well as other privatized enterprises. As for the conflicts over these auctions, to Mr. Chubays this is a manifestation of "the transparency of the procedure," where "there are bound to be those upset by losing out."

The government member considers it unlikely that the state will demand the return of credits obtained from commercial structures in the "shares-for-loans" deals — "maybe in just a few cases." Mr. Chubays said that the shares-for-loans" auctions have already yielded 2.4 trillion rubles for the budget (including the buyers' payment to the federal treasury of the debts of enterprises put up for auction). The first deputy premier believes that the "privatization revenues" article in the budget — 8.7 trillion rubles — will be fulfilled. Much here, according to him, depends on the successful realization of the shares of the "Svyazinvest" joint-stock company. He regarded the privatization scheme this year as a "bridge" between the 1992-1994 check [voucher] privatization and classic privatization in 1996, when the presale preparation of enterprises, auditing, and restructuring will begin.

Mr. Chubays did not agree that privatization has resulted in the mass disenchantment of the population and boosted the pre-election rating of leftist parties. He links the dramatic slowing of the industrial decline and the consolidation of more and more branches with the corporatization of enterprises and the improvement of their positions at negotiations with investors. The first deputy premier did not pick up the gauntlet thrown down a few days ago by Yuriy Luzhkov, who compared Mr. Chubays' actions to those of a drunkard selling his family property. Mr. Chubays only recalled how the mayor was wrong when he predicted a sharp rise in prices in Moscow following import duty hikes. "In the dispute with my opponents I have forever," he added.

The member of the Cabinet of Ministers said that he has disagreements with Aleksandr Livshits on matters of exchange policy, the currency band, and export support methods. At the same time he observed that this is not a "black-and-white" kind of confrontation, where Livshits says: "Stop fighting inflation," and Chubays demands: "Terminate the exporters." Therefore the differences between these two liberals are a "balance of macroeconomic and export interests." Mr. Chubays went to strike this balance directly from the press conference.

But before he departed for the Kremlin, the first deputy premier responded to a question about the prospects of economic policy should leftist forces come to power. According to Mr. Chubays, if the Communists [CPRF] or the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO] fall short on common sense, they will necessarily start to freeze prices. After this shortages will resume, while the "frozen" producers will demand subsidies from the budget. Unwilling to cut social spending, the leftist government will resort to Central Bank credits produced by the printing press. Mr. Chubays chose not to describe the inevitable jump in inflation and other unpleasant consequences. He only observed that under this scenario, Russia is guaranteed a suspension of IMF credits (which constitute 10 percent of monthly budget expenditures) and the presentation of multi-billion credit claims on the part of the Paris and London Clubs.

Thus, the first deputy premier in effect left the leftist forces no alternative to the current economic course. It is dubious, however, that Mr. Chubays' rating in the CPRF or the KRO is so high that they will heed his warning.

Chubays Announces Additional Coal Industry Funding

LD2911154195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1334 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 29 (INTERFAX) — A senior Russian minister promised on Wednesday the government would pour 500 billion rubles into the coal industry over and above the amount budgeted for this year in order to defuse tension in one of the country's principal energy sectors.

The decision was the result of a meeting between government members and trade union leaders held earlier in the day, First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays told a news briefing in Moscow.

He said 100 billion rubles would be provided this month and the rest next month. What made the expenditure possible were extra incomes the national treasury had received, he said.

In addition, coal enterprises would pay off part of their tax arrears with coal, and deadlines for tax payment would be moved for the industry by as much as the law permitted.

Chubays said the government had been funding the industry in full accordance with the national budget. He argued that the cause of the current delayed payment of wages to miners were coal purchasers' arrears.

The leader of the Russian Union of Coal Industry Workers told the briefing the measures agreed at the meeting would "take the edge off" the miners' problems. Vitaliy Budko said he was personally satisfied with them but his union would officially state its position on Thursday.

Decrease in Coal Production Set To Reach 5-6 Percent

MM2911143295 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 2

[INFOTEK/BIZNES-TASS report under the "Business Chronicle" rubric: "Coal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The decrease in coal production in Russia during the current year will amount to no less than 5-6 percent of the figure for 1994. In spite of the fact that coal still accounts for 20 percent of all the country's primary energy supply, since 1988 production of it has continued to steadily decline. Last year 263 million tonnes of coal were extracted, which is 132 million tonnes less than in 1990. During the first six months of the current year, extraction decreased by 6.6 percent compared to the same period in 1994 and amounted to 146.2 million tonnes. The fastest rate of decline in production compared to other sectors of the fuel and energy complex is to be seen in the coal industry.

Shafranik on 'Political Fuss' Over Product Sharing Law

LD3011124195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1043 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By Robert Serebrennikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 30 (ITAR-TASS) — The law on product sharing would provide a real chance for creating new jobs in Russia's major oil company Nizhnevartovskneftegaz and in the Far Eastern oil and gas sector, Russian Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik said in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS.

The law, passed by the Russian State Duma in June, would entitle foreign investors in the Russian oil and gas sector to a share of output.

However, the law was turned down in October by the Federation Council, or the upper house.

The two houses set up a joint arbitration commission to give the law a reconciling wording.

Shafranik scolded the "political fuss" over the law, saying that with Russia's scarce finance for investment in the power sector, the law would be a helpful alternative to bail it out.

He said only those who do not want stability in Russia benefit from keeping the companies like Nizhnevartovskneftegaz companies idle.

Ample Increase in Oil Extracting Capability Viewed

MM2911143495 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 2

[INFOTEK/BIZNES-TASS report under the "Business Chronicle" rubric: "Oil"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia is capable of getting its annual oil extraction up to 400 million tonnes (8 million barrels a day) in the next five to seven years, experts from the INFOTEK financial company think. The tendency to reduce extraction has not as yet been overcome. During the first six months of the year a total of 153 million tonnes of oil and gas condensate was extracted in the whole of the Russian Federation, that is 2.6 percent less than during the first six months of 1994. An all-time record in the history of the country was achieved in 1987 of 571.5 million tonnes of oil. Subsequently there has been a decline. The main reason for this is the low level of income that the oil extractors are receiving from the sale of oil on the domestic and external markets. Other major reasons include insufficient central capital investment and a reduction in effective demand for oil within domestic markets. If extraction once more begins to bring in sufficient income, Russia's oil extracting enterprises are capable of increasing volumes substantially in the shortest possible time.

Import, Export Duties on Publications Lifted

MM2911141395 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 1

[BIZNES-TASS report: "Easier for Booksellers Abroad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Printed periodicals and books of an educational, scientific, and cultural nature imported into Russia or exported by media editorial boards and publishing houses will be duty-free as of 1 January 1996. So says a federal law signed by Boris Yeltsin "On Additions to the Russian Federation Law 'On Customs Tariffs.'" Moreover, from next year media editorial boards, publishing houses, and printing enterprises can import paper, printing materials, items containing audio and video information, technology, and equipment without paying duty. These concessions do not extend to media, books, and periodicals of a promotional or erotic nature, the law says.

Tax Debtor Enterprises Tabulated

964F0440A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No. 47, Nov 95 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Who Is Not Paying Taxes? Fifty Enterprises Owe More Than 12 Trillion Rubles in Taxes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I learned accidentally that many very rich enterprises do not pay taxes to the state. Who owes taxes and how much? [Signed] Yu. Ilyukhin, Novgorod Oblast.

The Russian State Tax Service provided the newspaper with a list of the biggest delinquents with respect to paying taxes to the federal budget. The list contains 505 enterprises, which owe a total of 17.26 trillion rubles [R]. The largest 50 enterprises on this list account for R12.2 trillion, or 71 percent, of the total debt.

The largest tax delinquent is the fuel and power generation complex, whose 34 enterprises failed to pay R8.9 trillion. They are followed by nine railroad administrations of the Ministry of Railroads—R1.52 trillion. Car makers owe almost as much—R1.48 trillion.

Nonpayment of taxes translates into delays in paying pensions to the elderly and salaries to doctors, teachers, the military, and other workers in budget-funded sectors. Suffice it to say that the delinquent tax amount of R12.2 trillion would fully cover, and then some, the financing of educational, culture, and arts institutions for the entire year of 1995. First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays openly accused heads of delinquent enterprises of undermining state finances and warned that he will insist on firing the violators.

Let us recall that in civilized democratic countries the law qualifies nonpayment of taxes as a grave crime against the state, which can land a person in jail for a considerable period of time.

Below is the list of the largest debtors and the amount they owe to the federal budget (in billions of rubles):

AvtoVAZ—684; Arkhangelskneftegaz—87; Baykal-Amur Railroad—71; Volgotrasgaz—68; East-Siberia Railroad (Irkutsk administration)—222; Gorkiy Railroad—222; GAZ—530; Far-East Railroad (Khabarovsk administration)—95; Irkutskenergo—158; Komineft—192; Kondpetroleum—397; Krasnoyarsk Railroad—140; Krasnoyarskenergo—67; LUKoilgalym NG—749; LUKoillangepasneftegaz—814; LUKoil-Pnos—160; Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine—49; Megionneftegaz—329; Moskvich—163; Moscow Railroad—209; Moscow Oil Refinery—149; Nadymgazprom—93; Nizhnevartovskneftegaz—1,138; Novokuybyshevsk Oil Refinery—100; Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine—144; Norilskgazprom—111; Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine—55; Noyabrskneftegaz—753; Oktober Railroad—191; Orenburggazprom—55; Orenburgneft—342; Osinskneft—73; Purneftegaz—195; Samaraneftegaz—245; Sverdlovsk Railroad—182; Sverdlovskenergo—78; Northern Railroad (Yaroslavl administration)—191; Sibnefteprovod—57; Surgutgazprom—111; Tomskneft VNK—116; Tyumentransgaz—217; Tyumenenergo—71; Udmurtneft—94; Ulyanovsk Auto Works—106; Uraltransgaz—404; Chernushkaneft—96; Yuganskneftegaz—842; Yakutnefteprodukt—184; Yakutugol—110; Yamburggazdobycha—240.

International Affairs

Kuchma To Follow Policy of 'Balanced' Russian Relations

LD2911131395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1142 GMT 29 Nov 95

[By Raisa Stetsyura]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, November 29 (Itar-Tass) — "The Ukrainian president will continue to follow principles of balanced and predictable relations, the more so with Russia, while pursuing his foreign policy," Dmitriy Markov, press secretary of the Ukrainian head of state, told a briefing here on Wednesday.

He refuted reports by some foreign mass media on alleged changes in the Ukrainian foreign policy, including relations with Russia.

Balkan Peacekeepers To Remain 'At Least' Two Months

WS2911150495 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0021 GMT 29 Nov 95

[By Halia Pavliva, INTELNEWS Staff Writer]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Kiev, Nov. 28 — Ukraine's peacekeeping contingent will stay on the territory of former Yugoslavia for at least another two months, the Foreign Ministry announced Tuesday.

In the meantime, according to the Foreign Ministry, a peace agreement between the presidents of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia is to be signed around Dec. 20 in Paris, the Foreign Ministry reported.

Ukraine's 240th battalion has been part of the United Nations peacekeeping force throughout the Yugoslavian conflict, and the Foreign Ministry emphasized its willingness to participate in a future "blue helmet" contingent that may be created as a result of the settlement.

However, Volodymyr Yelchenko, head of the Foreign Ministry's international organizations department, sidestepped the question of whether the new force would be under NATO command.

"Even if NATO receives a mandate to conduct operations in former Yugoslavia, the international peacekeeping contingent all the same will remain under the UN Security Council," he said. [passage omitted]

Yelchenko also supported the call of Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov for placement of 3,000 troops at the disposal of the Defense Ministry for peacekeeping operations.

Marchuk, Bulgaria's Sendov on Effects of FRY Sanctions

LD2911193895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1631 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, November 29 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukraine and Bulgaria believe that they have the "moral right" to be among the first in the restoration of former Yugoslavia's economy.

This was disclosed in Kiev today, at the talks between Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk and Bulgarian National Assembly President Blagovest Sendov.

Ye. Marchuk noted that both sides had suffered great losses as a result of the implementation of the UN sanctions against former Yugoslavia. "We were observing the sanctions as civilized partners of the world community," he noted, "and now our countries have the moral right to be the first in the reconstruction effort".

In this connection B. Sendov said that, at the lowest estimates, Bulgaria's loss from the economic embargo equals $6 billion. According to him, in this situation both countries "should not be silent, but declare this full voice".

At the same time, the Bulgarian Parliament Speaker says, his country does count on any financial compensation for the losses. "But we shall be granted the possibility to earn this money back", he stressed.

The Ukrainian Premier said that he had touched upon this issue in the course of his talks with Hans Van der Broek, member of the European Commission, in Brussels last Friday. As Ye. Marchuk put it, H.Van der Broek favoured the idea.

Answering an "IF-U" question about how much competitive Ukrainian construction organizations are, Ye. Marchuk underlined that "Ukraine's building industry enjoys a high reputation abroad", primarily as regards industrial construction. Meanwhile, he said, the Ukrainian construction industry is far from being used to its full capacity.

Moroz, Sendov Hold Talks

WS3011115495 Kiev UKRINFORM in English 0813 GMT 30 Nov 95

[From the "Current Events" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On Tuesday, November 28 Verkhovna Rada [Supreme Council] Chairman Oleksandr Moroz met in Kiev with Blagovest Sendov, Chairman of the Bulgarian Assembly, who arrived in Ukraine on an official visit at the head of a parliamentary delegation. Opening the talks the Bulgarian parliamentary speaker raised the issue of Ukrainian coal shipments to Bulgaria and asked the host party to assist in increasing these, as vital to keep Bulgarian fuel-fired power plants operational through the winter season. The Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada Chairperson pledged his personal support for the issue. The two sides also discussed problems involving shipping in the Danube which was severely affected by the UN economic sanctions against the former Yugoslavia.

Since the two nations sustained great losses as a result of these, it would be quite logical for them to join their efforts in trying to secure adequate reparation from the world community, it was noted at the meeting. The talk then shifted to denationalization/privatization problems triggering a lively and interested exchange of opinions involving the two countries' specific experience in this crucial area of reformation. According to the Bulgarian parliament speaker, between 25 and 30 percent of industrial enterprises in Bulgaria have already been privatized, through the state has retained its control over the bulk of large-size industrial enterprises. The meeting was attended by VR Deputy Chairperson Oleg Dyomin, Deputy Foreign Minister Volodymyr Khandohyy and other high-placed Ukrainian officials.

Foreign Minister Begins Official Visit to ROK

LD3011102095 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The official visit of Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko to the Republic of Korea has begun. Yesterday, Udovenko and other members of the Ukrainian delegation met the leadership of the two world-wide-known South Korean corporations, Hyunday and Gold Star. During the meeting the sides discussed possible ways of expanding cooperation in the field of machine- building and ship-building. Hennadiy Udovenko also held talks with the president of the Gold Star company, which has decided to open an office in Kiev. The company president expressed interest in and a readiness to cooperate with Ukrainian partners, especially in oil extraction from the ocean and sea shelves, including the Black Sea shelf, and also in gold extraction in Ukraine.

General Prosecutor's Office Hosts FBI Delegation

WS3011115295 Kiev UKRINFORM in English 0813 GMT 30 Nov 95

[From the "Current Events" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On Wednesday, November 29 the Ukrainian Procurator-General's Office in Kiev was the venue of a meeting between its top-placed officers and a delegation of the US Federal Bureau of Investigation. During the meeting the two parties discussed issues of mutual legal assistance in investigations into criminal cases, which involve the two nations' interests. The meeting was attended by Ukrainian Procurator-General Hryhoriy Vorsinov, his deputies and section chiefs, and the US Embassy's staffers. As a result of the meeting, an agreement was reached on regular information exchange and specific forms of cooperation in curbing transnational crime, the Procurator-General's Office press center disclosed to UKRINFORM.

Deputy Trade Minister on CIS Interstate Agreements

LD2911220895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1855 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Nov 29 (Interfax - Ukraine) — The Ukrainian government believes it is inexpedient to sign any more interstate agreements on trade and economic cooperation within the CIS and plans to shift to direct contracts with economic agents of CIS states, full-fledged free trade and formation of financial and industrial groups.

Ukraine's First Deputy Minister of Trade and Foreign Economic Relations Viktor Hladush made this statement at a conference of heads of Ukrainian trade missions abroad in Kiev Wednesday [29 November].

According to Hladush, the decision followed a sharp drop in the volume of goods supplied within the CIS under interstate agreements. This drop is more impressing against the background of a general decrease in the turnover within the CIS.

"The total turnover within the CIS for the first nine months of 1995 amounted to 85.4 percent of the same 1994 period, while that under interstate agreements was 63.4 percent. At the same time, its share in the total turnover fell from 8.7 percent to 4.5 percent," he added.

In addition, the reconciliation of mutual supplies at world prices is unprofitable for Ukraine, where many domestic prices are higher than the world ones, he added.

Ukraine will be purchasing fuel and energy under interstate agreements, but only to cover the minimum needs of the communal and production sectors.

Hladush said Ukraine owed CIS states $3.46 billion, including due and overdue interest.

National Affairs

Marchuk on Legislature, Russia, United States

WS3011120495 Kiev ZERKALO NEDELI in Russian 18-24 Nov 95 p 4

[Interview with Prime Minister Yevhen Kyrylovych Marchuk, by Oleksandr Martynenko and Anton Kryukov; place.and date not given: "I Do Not Have Problems in the Legislature"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [ZERKALO NEDELI] Yevhen Kyrylovych, could you summarize some interim results of the government activities over the almost six months of its existence. What have you managed to do? What have you failed to achieve?

[Marchuk] It is still too early to summarize the results, but it is possible to provide a kind of an opinion on the accomplishments. The primary thing is that in terms of interim results, the government has been formed, although this process will continue.

The second, the government has developed its program and it has been approved. The third, the mechanism for the internal functioning of the Cabinet of Ministers has been set up and relations with regions have been improved. Our relations with regions are one of the most difficult problems and the most critical issues will be concentrated precisely in the sphere of "Kiev- regional" relations.

Among the gains of the government, there is the regulation of the Crimean issue in the part concerning the government; and there is the organization of constructive work with the legislature on a wider spectrum of issues, and that has to a greater degree been done at our own initiative.

The development of normal contacts and cooperation with the intelligentsia, the mechanism for cooperation with our neighbors — Russia, Belarus, Moldova, Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland — can also be added to our gains. We have managed to hold negotiations with the prime ministers of all these countries.

From the viewpoint of the domestic economy, I would also add to the list of our gains the regulation of elements of social protection, particularly, the housing subsidies for the protection of the least financially secure — invalids, war veterans, and the disabled.

The point is that in this difficult and — in many aspects — dramatic time, the time of transformations, we in fact are traveling on the razor's edge, the brink of the precipice. The mechanism and resources are being developed for the portion of our society that was the first to feel and will feel longer than anyone else the consequences of economic surgery. Here we have things which we did not have before June.

There exist small but positive signs in specific industrial sectors, particularly in the processing industry. Islands of stabilization have already emerged even in the existing negative situation. The processing industry will make us feel this, because its goods are produced for the people.

Third, or perhaps it is the first gain of the government: We have managed to keep the rate of price increases on a par with the rate of wage increasesm, or we have managed to raise wages quicker than prices. One can be proud of such indicators. Another thing is that wages due to the imperfect "Law on Enterprise" are, in general, unfair.

In reality, not only the reduction in the rate of inflation, but also the inflation jump in September were envisaged. Only now do many realize why we did not implement money reform. This could not be done during the inflation jump. At the same time, we have preserved a stable karbovanets-rate tendency.

Now I will focus on our failures, for example, the foreign debt. Over recent years, we have amassed colossal debts. We have amassed them as state debts and they are a burden.

This year we practically have no debts; there are, however, current working accounts. This is a "plus" for the prestige of the state, which is also expressed in specific economic terms.

If we, after restructuring debts, had been unable to deal with the domestic situation and amassed at least $1 billion in debt, no serious businessman would have come to us and we would not have received credits from international financial institutions.

But the problem of domestic debts is very difficult and is not resolved quickly. Everything is based on the structural reconstruction of the economy, energy consumption, and the frugal use of energy.

Debts to the power engineering sector have exceeded 100 billion [currency not specified]. These debts are further divided into other debts which create a mechanism providing for losses and the absence of discipline in payments. In general terms, all this is caused by the absolute non-adaptation to market mechanisms.

Hence, things that now cause resistance, manifested in various forms including newspaper publications, show in essence that we have comprehended the in-depth reasons for our meager existence.

[ZERKALO NEDELI] You have mentioned constructive relations with the legislature. Are you really satisfied with your relations with the Supreme Council and its chairman? Which laws does the government require today to make its work more effective?

[Marchuk] I would not say that I am entirely satisfied with these relations, but from the viewpoint of constructiveness, they have developed and improved. I would like to point out that the initiative was demonstrated by the Cabinet of Ministers primarily. I do not idealize these relations, but today it is quite possible to profoundly change our relations with the legislature.

Next week we will hold a joint session of the Presidium of the Supreme Council and the government to discuss problems which are difficult to be resolved by each of us alone.

Each week, there will be meetings with factions, despite all the "unpleasantness" of these meetings. Heads of factions participate in almost all sessions of the Cabinet of Ministers.

We have already ensured a situation when the meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers are not turned into rallies. Even Natalya Vytorenko [people's deputy] delivered a speech at the last meeting in a language which was very close to professional. "How-long-will-you"-type and so on phrases have become obsolete.

We have agreed to set up joint working groups for primary problems. There are many draft laws that are quite politicized, for example the Land Code or the Law on Taxes.

You have seen how the government has spent its day: I believe that this day was better than yesterday. We look to the future with even greater optimism. We will provide deputies and government officials with the same information. But this will also be more difficult for deputies, because we speak a common language with government officials, the language of experts.

As regards personal relations with the Supreme Council chairman, they are improving in the context of "government-legislative" relations. The convergence of aims disperses many contradictions and means greater tolerance. I do not see any problems here.

We have submitted a package of draft laws on taxes, pensions, and the market for funds to the legislature, because these problems are most critical for us. This market is practically new for us and it now becomes a difficult, and at the first stage, politicized factor.

There are also draft laws on social insurance, social protection, and some documents on customs policy.

[ZERKALO NEDELI] Do you believe that all problems with deputies with a leftist orientation can be resolved?

[Marchuk] My personal rule has always been as follows: In many cases, one can find common language with even serious opponents, given the parties do not forma divide.

But I can discuss and resolve problems with Khmara, Symonenko, and Chornovyl. I have no problems in the legislature. But this does not imply that there are only concessions and compromises there.

Anyway, it is always necessary to differentiate: When the people get themselves worked up in the assembly hall, it implies one thing, but when they sort things out personally, it is another thing. If one does not consider this, nothing will emerge. When one begins to cooperate [kogda vykhodish na soprikosnoveniye], it turns out that 99 percent of stereotypes disappear. As as result, this provides a kind of rational opportunity to meet your opponents halfway.

I think that the legislature and the government will cooperate normally; in addition, five of my deputies are Supreme Council people's deputies. Therefore, I have experience of cooperating with law-makers on a daily basis.

[ZERKALO NEDELI] Election campaigns are being held in both Russia and Ukraine; many think that the leftists have the greatest opportunity to win. If this is so, what does the success of communists imply — a tendency or a [transitory] stage? Is the creation of a strong centrist party in Ukraine real? Where is your place in this system?

[Marchuk] This is primarily the issue of power bodies functioning at a turning point. Those who have the courage to begin to work in a transitional period must realize that according to objective laws and irrespective of one's wishes, an opposition will be formed at this stage. In addition, the more productively one works, the quicker the opposition is established.

Difficult life and speculations on these difficulties (I even do not use the word "speculation" in its negative sense) are simply political games. The people are dissatisfied and political parties take advantage of this. There is nothing wrong in this. In these terms, Ukraine can be an exception, just as it symbolizes an exception compared to other developments, I imply a series of attempts to accomplish coup d'etats and civic conflicts in our neighboring countries.

We have more potentially dangerous things than Moldova. I believe that the emerging political spectrum, a considerable portion of which is composed by the leftist forces, can produce a different outcome than in Russia or Poland. What do I mean? A peculiar conglomerate of political forces that can create a purely Ukrainian phenomenon (and there are serious prerequisites for this). We will not repeat the results of, for example, Russian elections.

[ZERKALO NEDELI] Can this process be influenced?

[Marchuk] Undoubtedly. I am just exerting my influence on it.

[ZERKALO NEDELI] You have held several meetings with Russian leaders. Can these meetings be called constructive? Do you expect that some problems, particularly the division of the Black Sea Fleet, will be resolved?

[Marchuk] I think that having divided the process into public- political and expert-confidential segments, we are currently moving along the proper path. The aim is the same — to unblock the process.

I do not know which of these meetings was unconstructive. Now practically all meetings make it possible to make a step forward.

During the last meeting with Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, we agreed that the first meeting of the "Chernomyrdin-Marchuk" commission will be held in November. But such meetings are not negotiations. We sit close to one another and discuss blocked issues — industrial cooperation, financial-industrial groups, customs, and property. We request ministers to come and make a decision.... Negotiations [as published] come to an end when we sign a document and issues are resolved. I do not know how it will be in reality, but such an agreement exists.

In general, it is both interesting and difficult to work with the Russians. There are no purely personal problems with either Oleg Soskovets or Viktor Chernomyrdin.

[ZERKALO NEDELI] What can you tell us about Chernomyrdin's speech at the last meeting of heads of states when he favored the revival of the political and economic union?

[Marchuk] After his speech, I came up to him with my Belarusian and Kazakh counterparts and said that we will hold a conference devoted to customs union issues and invite the Russian ministers. Let them come to us, report on how wonderful the customs union is, and listen to us.

We understand that the customs union is better than no customs union at all. But we want to enter it deliberately, after we calculate everything. There is the free trade system, and this is almost a customs union, only without a leading center. But the most important thing is that there is no parity in oil prices in Russia and Ukraine.

Chernomyrdin has adopted a decision to participate in the conference on the customs union. Moldova Prime Minister Sangheli will also come to us to discuss the same issue.

[ZERKALO NEDELI] Are there any real opportunities to resolve the fleet problem within the framework of "Chernomyrdin-Marchuk" commission?

[Marchuk] We have agreed not to discuss it there, at least for now. There are two primary obstacles to the resolution of the fleet problem — Sevastopol and lease terms.

We have resolved the issue of leasing accounts at the level of economic ministries. But I agree that the Black Sea Fleet problem is primarily political. All issues will be focused on Sevastopol.

[ZERKALO NEDELI] How do you assess the level of Ukrainian- American relations?

[Marchuk] The United States imply a separate trend. Relations with this country have been established in an uneasy way. Many stereotypes had to be broken in Ukraine, and the Russian attitude toward our contacts had to be considered as well.

Along economic lines, there are several interesting directions. As regards military-technical cooperation, it is quite active. The military sphere, in general, is the most dynamic: This year alone we had 50 meetings [kontaktov]. Such cooperation does not hurt our pride and does not create any threats for anyone.

Now our relations are approaching their second stage, which, in my opinion, will be specified in many aspects by relations between the Congress and the administration [as published]. I was told in the Congress that, of course, there should be assistance, but it should not be rendered to officials who waste a lot of money traveling all over the world.

Hence, I think that a new stage of development with the United States is at a threshold. I believe that at this stage, political issues will be developed, but elements of economic and military-technical cooperation will become more important.

We must give credit to the United States for its position on Chernobyl. Precisely here the historic role of an individual is a factor. If President Clinton expresses an opinion on Chernobyl, his words aacquire a particular significance, although this is another subject. Chernobyl itself does not imply aid to Ukraine. This is an issue which threatens the United States itself. An ordinary

John Smith can forgive anything, but the most important for him is to avoid any threat to him personally and eliminate an opportunity of a radioactive cloud affecting his garden.

As regards markets, they were divided a long time ago and it would be funny and absurd to believe that we will be immediately let into the markets established at the expense of big money. But it is necessary to penetrate them.

This is also an old concept: "Someone must render us free assistance, because we have been offended by the USSR and are in crisis now." This must be forgotten.

[ZERKALO NEDELI] How do you assess the situation in the mass media? What about information security?

[Marchuk] In our situation, there are a lot of indicators of an information threat. This is expressed not only in the mere presence of foreign mass media in our information sector, although separate groups try to affect our political situation.

Such a situation will continue until a powerful domestic mass media industry emerges as a serious partner in state management.

The state must play its role. At the same time, the state must not issue direct subsidies, but create specific conditions and a favorable environment for mass media.

Marchuk Discusses Problems of Shutdown of Chernobyl

LD2911185295 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1629 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Nov 29 (Interfax - Ukraine) — If the G7 is still undecided whether to finance the shutdown of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant by the end of this year, Ukraine will have to upgrade its reactors, Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk told Bulgaria's National Assembly Chairman Blagovest Sendov in Kiev Wednesday.

"Ukraine has expressed its position on the Chernobyl shutdown, having made a political decision to close it down by 2000," Marchuk said. Ukraine "will not change its political approach to this issue," he added. "Now the G7 has the ball," he noted.

In addition to well-known shutdown problems (halting the reactors, maintenance of the buried fourth reactor, storage of nuclear waste, creation of compensating energy sources and social issues), there is "one more issue seldom mentioned in the press," Marchuk said. "For the tenth year now, Ukraine has had to set aside 12 percent of its budget for the elimination of consequences of the Chernobyl disaster," he explained.

"This state of affairs will last for many more years to come," he underlined, calling this problem an "enormous tax."

Asked about compensating sources of energy, Marchuk said Ukraine is "ready to accept any of the proposed options. However, we cannot resort to a loss of 2 million kilowatts," he stated.

In April 1995, Ukraine announced its intention to shut down the Chernobyl nuclear power plant provided the West renders it financial assistance. However, Ukraine and G7 are split over the size of this assistance.

Kiev estimates the costs of halting the plant alone at $3 billion to $4 billion, while the G7 is ready to loan it some $2 billion, but for the upgrade of Ukraine's energy production.

Moroz Calls For Clarifying Military Doctrine

LD2911221495 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1855 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Nov 29 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament Aleksandr Moroz said at a meeting with members of the Ukrainian Media Club today that Ukraine should clarify some aspects of its military doctrine.

"It is necessary to decide whether the country is capable of defending its people independently while holding to the non-bloc status," Moroz said.

"Ukraine should also be more specific about military cooperation and use of force in Europe," he said.

Moroz criticized NATO for "obviously violating the principles of the U.N. and the Helsinki agreements" by its actions in Yugoslavia.

"We cannot regard as normal the situation when a decision to use force in Yugoslavia, a European country, is made under the 16+1 formula," Moroz said.

Leaders Attend Defense Ministry Session

WS3011115695 Kiev UKRINFORM in English
0813 GMT 30 Nov 95

[From the "Current Events" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] According to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry's press service, on November 28 an extended session of the Ministry's top brass hats was held in the Ukrainian capital, which was attended by President Leonid Kuchma, Verkhovna Rada [Supreme Council] Chairman Oleksandr Moroz, Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk, high-placed officers with other

Ukrainian ministries and departments. The session appraised the Ukrainian Armed Forces' overall performance and combativeness status in 1995, and outlined their major tasks and objectives for the future. Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov made his report, in which he stated as an undeniable fact Ukraine's success in constructing its own armed forces capable of performing their inherent duties and functions. The Defense Minister presented an in-depth analysis of the Armed Forces' status and outlined prospects of their development in the years to come.

President Leonid Kuchma's speech at the session stated, in particular, the task of further constructing the national armed forces as the State's major concern. The Ukrainian President urged increased support for carrying out this major task on the part of all governmental institutions and bodies. Mr. Kuchma instructed the Cabinet of Ministers to exercise more regular control over the way the President's orders involving the Armed Forces' restructuring and construction are implemented.

Crimean Tatars' Constitutional Stand Criticized

LD2911194295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1631 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Simferopol, November 29 (Interfax - Ukraine) — The group of the Crimean Republican Party (RPC) in the Parliament of Crimea believes that Ukraine's Parliament has to endorse the new Crimea's Constitution as soon as possible.

The statement by the group sent to "IF-U" today strongly criticizes the stand of the Kurultay Crimean Tatar parliamentary group as regards the adoption of the new Constitution.

On November 1, the Crimean Parliament adopted the autonomy's draft new Constitution, which is to be endorsed by the Ukrainian Parliament. The next day, Kurultay members went on a hunger strike in protest against the granting of an "official" status only to the Russian language and demanded that Crimean Tatars be guaranteed representation in bodies of local self-administration.

The RPC mps issued a statement condemning "the attempts to dictate the will of one of the ethnic groups on other citizens of the Crimean Republic by force and political blackmail".

The authors of the statement describe "any demands for the return of quotas for certain ethnic groups in the election of bodies of power as an attempt to establish ethnic privileges".

According to them, "any ill-considered move by the Ukrainian Parliament or other power structures may exacerbate the relations between ethnic communities in Crimea and between Kiev and Simferopol, should power structures in Kiev undertake actions aimed at imposing upon most of the Crimeans political supremacy of one ethnic group".

"We are reserving for ourselves the right to fight against these decisions by all the constitutional means possible", the statement says.

Communist Party Alleges 'Political Terrorism' in Crimea

LD2911135195 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0944 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Simferopol — "Political terrorism is becoming a daily occurrence in Crimea, particularly during the election campaign," a statement from the presidium of the Communist Party of Crimea, which was passed to UNIAN, declares.

Crimea's communists confirmed that blackmail and threats have been made against Yuriy Illarionov, chancellor of the Kerch Institute of Technology, who is the communist candidate running in the Ukrainian parliamentary elections from Kerchenskiy constituency. He has been told to pull out of the election campaign, and he has been severely beaten up near his apartment. Crimea's Prime Minister Anatoliy Franchuk is also running in the same constituency.

In connection with this, the presidium of the Communist Party of Crimea states: "The state bodies, the Prosecutor General's Office, the militia, and Anatoliy Franchuk, personally, bear full responsibility for the life and safety of parliamentary candidates."

Crimean Candidates Claim Pro-Franchuk Media Bias

WS3011103195 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0040 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Simferopol, Nov. 28 — A round table dedicated to the Dec. 10 elections to the Ukrainian Parliament was organized Tuesday [28 November] in Simferopol by the Ukrainian Independent Center for Political Studies. Assistance was provided by Freedom House and the Central Election Committee (CEC) of Crimea.

The round table's target was to help candidates for the Parliament in elucidating their electoral programs as well as to promote formation of equal conditions for the election competition.

The event was attended by candidates from several Crimean electoral districts, Crimean CEC deputy chairman Yuriy Sakharov, Organization for Security and

Cooperation in Europe expert Jorgen Gemalla, and Ukrainian Center for Human Rights Protection representative Leonid Pilunskyy.

Violation of election laws were a major issue of discussion. In particular, candidates complained that "the entire state machinery operates in favor of a single person" in some districts. Candidates said Crimean Prime Minister Anatoliy Franchuk and his son, Fuel-Energy Resources of Ukraine stock company director Ihor Franchuk, have such an advantage in Kerch and Yalta, respectively. All media in these regions are subservient to the two, with every success in work of executive committees ascribed exclusively to them.

Crimean Public Prosecutor Valentin Kuptsov, a candidate for Parliament, also said there is "a clear tendency to violation of the legislation on elections, and it is a time to make (the violators) accountable."

Sakharov said the CEC of Crimea has no power intervene in the event of election laws. Sakharov advised the candidates to appeal immediately to district committees in case they discover any violations of the legislation.

Economic Issues

U.S. Agriculture Department Planning To Aid Farming

LD2911193295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1631 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, November 29 (Interfax - Ukraine) — The U.S. Department of Agriculture has sent to the Land O'Lakes American corporation 20 thousand tons of soymeal to be sold in Ukraine on a non-profit basis.

As "IF-U" was told by Robert Walker, adviser to Ukraine's Agriculture Minister, the U.S. Agriculture Department intends to create with the money earned from the sale of soymeal a fund for crediting Ukrainian small- and medium-size farms and processing enterprises "on a low interest basis". According to the American side, the above-said fund could start operation next spring. A similar fund has been already set up in Russia.

Ukraine is nowadays the world's biggest recipient of technical aid and credits from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, R.Walker said.

Over the past 2,5 years, the U.S. Agriculture Department has granted Ukraine credits to the tune of around 45 million USD, which, in keeping with the decision of the Ukrainian Government, were used for soymeal purchases.

As R.Walker disclosed, U.S. Agriculture Minister Dan Glickman announced recently that the Department had passed a decision on granting Ukraine another credit of 20 million USD under the PL 480 program to purchase the required farm produce in the USA. The PL 480 program provides for granting credits at a low interest rate - 2,25 per cent with a 25-year long term of repayment.

R.Walker said that nowadays the Ukrptitseprom corporation is receiving from the USA the first consignment of soymeal. Ukraine has purchased soymeal worth a total of 25 million USD to develop her poultry farming under a similar crediting program.

Search Urged for Oil, Gas in Black, Azov Seas

AU3011103095 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 28 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by Stepan Yaloveha, head of the Press Service of the State Oil and Gas Industry Committee: "Oil and Natural Gas From the Sea Shelf Is Not Fantasy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently, a board of Ukraine's State Committee for Oil, Gas, and Oil-Processing Industry held a meeting in Simferopol. A draft program for developing these resources in the Ukrainian part of the Black and Azov seas prepared on the commission of Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma was discussed. This program supplements and further specifies the national program "Ukraine's Oil and Natural Gas by the Year 2010" and outlines ways of achieving what has been planned.

Mykola Ilnytskyy, director of the state production enterprise "Chernomornaftohaz" [Black Sea Oil and Gas], explained the essence of the program. He pointed out that explored hydrocarbon reserves there amount to 47.1 million metric tons of conventional fuel, including 45.8 billion cubic meters of natural gas and 1.3 million metric tons of gas condensate. The extraction of gas from sea deposits has lately exceeded 500 million cubic meters a year.

At the same time, prospects for finding oil and natural gas in Ukraine's sea areas have considerably surpassed the present level of their exploration. According to tentative estimates by scientists, initial potential resources of hydrocarbons in sea areas account for almost 30 percent of Ukraine's unexplored resources.

The draft program envisages covering, over the years 1996-2010, 215,000 linear kilometers of seismic prospecting profiles, drilling almost 800,000 meters of exploration boreholes and 1,700 thousand [1700 tysyach] meters of operational boreholes. The entire complex of technical and technological measures that conform to the existing ecological system at all stages of exploration, prospecting, and operation of marine oil and natural gas deposits is clearly set out. It is expected that more than 40 billion cubic meters of natural gas and 20 million metric tons of oil and condensate can be extracted within 15 years.

To cover the deficit of financing sources, funds are needed from the state budget and nonstate investors, and also credit resources from commercial banks to an amount of $286 million. It is expected that all outlays on the development of marine resources will be recouped within the years 2003 and 2005.

Cabinet Creates Oil Supply Coordination Center

WS2911142595 Kiev INTELNEWS in English
0021 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Nov. 27 — A recent Cabinet of Ministers decree has created a coordination center "to insure the interaction of participants in realizing Ukraine's long-term oil supply program."

According to the resolution, the center is being created to accelerate the construction of the Odessa oil terminal.

Vasyl Yevtukhov, fuel and energy complex deputy prime minister, will head the center. Other officials in the center will include the State Oil and Gas Industry Committee, the Cabinet's fuel and energy complex department as well as the Finance and Economics ministries.

Cabinet Wants Direct Trading To Replace Government Deals

LD2911183395 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
1550 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has decided to switch from intergovernmental trade agreements to direct contracts between companies, particularly in relations with the Russian Federation, said Viktor Hladush, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations and trade, at a meeting with heads of Ukraine's foreign trade missions on 29 November.

He said that only fuel supplies to residential consumers, schools, and universities will be covered by intergovernmental agreements in 1996.

Hladush expressed concern at the fact that the free trade agreement between Ukraine and Russia was not fully implemented. He said Ukraine had lost some $1.2 million after Russia excluded a large number of goods from the agreement.

The deputy minister opposed accession to the CIS customs union, adding that it would be detrimental to Ukraine's agriculture, food processing, and coal industries.

Belarus

Lukashenka's 17 Nov Address to Law Enforcers

WS2911150095 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 25 Nov 95 p 2

["Text" of address by President Alyaksandr Lukashenka to the employees of law enforcement agencies in Minsk on 17 November: "The Ensuring of the Efficient Protection of Public Order Is Currently the Most Important Task"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed defenders of law and order!

My decision to directly address you was dictated by the fact that crime is becoming a factor threatening the stability of our society and the reforms we are conducting. The increasing criminalization of various public structures very negatively affects the difficult socioeconomic situation in our Republic.

In this regard, I would like to express certain remarks about your work and the further development of the Interior Ministry system in the current conditions.

The meeting of the Ministry of Internal Affairs devoted to the results of an inspection in its central administration and a number of internal affairs directorates, which was held on 6 October 1995 and chaired by the president, was principal and constructive. Rendering the majority of employees their due for their conscientious and devoted work, I nevertheless have to point out a number of serious problems and shortcomings in the work of your institution.

Internal affairs agencies have not become a center uniting the efforts of all state structures aimed at combating crime. As a result, the operational situation has not been stabilized entirely in our Republic. Moreover, during the first 10 months of this year 108,500 crimes were registered, which was considerably more than during the corresponding period of 1994. The number of grave crimes grew four times as rapidly as the total number of offenses. The number of deliberate homicides increased, and more than half of them were committed in the consumer services sector. Thefts, which represent the majority of all registered crimes, have become commonplace.

The extremely low law-abidingness of a part of the population is in many respects connected with the fact that internal affairs agencies do not entirely ensure the principle of inevitability of punishment. This year, 39,900 crimes have not been solved, which is twice as many as last year. The impunity brings about a wave of new, more audacious, and dangerous crimes.

The growing billow of economic crimes, which cause huge damage to the state, is particularly alarming. New sorts of crimes have appeared in the economy, such as the laundering of money illegally acquired by pseudobusinessmen, transfers of hard currency abroad, the penetration of the Belarusian market by suspicious foreign partners, illegal operations in the financial, credit, and banking systems and within organizations overseeing the processes of denationalization, privatization, etc.

There are no grounds to be satisfied with the results of the battle against corruption. Corrupt officials have become a singular "fifth column" able if not to cripple, then at least seriously discredit the reforms carried out by the president and the Cabinet of Ministers.

I am seriously concerned over criminals' tendency to become better organized, more aggressive and ruthless, and better armed. Under these difficult circumstances, internal affairs agencies do not always persistently, purposefully, and timely react to negative changes in the operational situation, and do not fully use their capacities in the battle against crime.

At the same time, we should view the sociopsychological aspect of the battle against crime. I receive letters in which people complain about the police's inaction, bureaucracy, and red tape while examining complaints and applications. Certain citizens who no longer believe that the violated law will be protected stop requesting assistance from internal affairs agencies.

I agree that many problems concerning the work of the Interior Ministry are caused by objective reasons. Unfortunately, given the current condition of our economy and budget, we can neither increase the number of personnel nor substantially improve the equipment of internal affairs agencies.

I am convinced, however, that we currently can and must urgently fight crime. This requires that every employee improves his professional skills every day. Due to the poor professionalism, outdated forms and methods of work, and even inept actions, measures aimed at rendering dangerous criminals harmless and apprehending them are often not carried out, and gross mistakes are committed while compiling documentation on their illegal activities. For the same reason, your colleagues often get killed or wounded.

In the battle against crime, you must use the possibilities provided to you by the Law "On Operative and Investigative Activities" to a greater extent.

I am convinced that the efficiency of your work will considerably increase if you rely to a greater extent on the population's assistance, and search for new forms of engaging the public in the protection of law and order and preventing crimes, which are suitable in the current conditions. In a number of Belarusian oblasts and rayons, the work in this area is already under way. Any reasonable initiative must be supported and developed by all possible means.

Finally, I want to address another problem, which worries me as much as the aforementioned ones — the state of the executive, and official discipline in many Interior Ministry agencies and subunits. Unfortunately, I must note that the mechanism of management is deficient; the system of normal relations between the highest bodies and low-level subunits is inefficient; and laws, presidential edicts, government resolutions, and the interior minister's orders are not unconditionally implemented at all levels.

The supervision over the implementation of decisions is unsatisfactory, the state of executive discipline is not substantially analyzed, and there is no decisive reaction to cases of red tape and negligence.

I am also alarmed by still-occurring cases of deliberate concealment of crimes. This antistate practice undermines the prestige of the police, weakens its ties with the people, and brings about a sense of impunity among criminals.

I am also concerned over other negative phenomena in your environment such as drunkenness and violations of transport discipline. Having forgotten about honor and conscience, certain employees are carried away by their own economic problems — such as construction of cottages, dachas, garages, etc. All of this is accompanied by outrageous cases of various abuses. Certain chiefs of internal affairs agencies do not condemn these violations.

Crimes committed by Interior Ministry employees have had broad public repercussions among the Belarusian population. Around 90 criminal cases against former employees of internal affairs agencies are currently being investigated. This figure speaks for itself.

I would like to draw your attention to the following issues:

First, the president will continue to conduct a firm policy toward intensifying the battle against crime, strengthening law and order, and supporting actions by Interior Ministry agencies and troops as much as possible.

Second, I ask you to remember that the ensuring of the efficient protection of public order and citizens' constitutional rights is currently the most important task. I appeal to you to more actively search for and apply new forms and methods of combating crime, complete the setting up of public security police divisions and road police divisions, and create conditions for their effective operation.

The main criterion for everyone, regardless of their ranks and merits, should be not only the cause, but also the results in one's field of activity, as well as willingness and ability to work being based on the creative collective potential.

Third, I suggest developing as soon as possible a concept of work with personnel, and proceeding from this concept, drafting a long-term program for selecting, training, placing, and educating personnel. You should be guided by qualitative indicators while forming the core of your staffs.

The president will do everything so that the Interior Ministry system becomes a highly prestigious place of state service for young people who have a high sense of public responsibility and are able to resist the pressure from criminals, mob structures, and corrupt officials due to their ethical and physical qualities.

Fourth, I demand that you essentially improve your operative and investigative work, which should be considered one of the priority directions.

One of the key tasks internal affairs agencies are facing is the battle against corruption in bodies of state power and administration. I demand that subunits for combating organized crime pass from monitoring of criminal groups and their leaders to vigorous measures aimed at detecting and halting their activities.

I suggest that the Interior Ministry, along with interested bodies, should immediately begin developing one nationwide strategy and tactic of combating economic crimes and, first of all, fortify their operative positions in the most crime-ridden areas — such as the fuel and energy complex, the credit and banking system, and organizations involved in the privatization of state property.

It is time for subunits for combating economic crimes to uncover large-scale thieves, corrupt state officials, bribers, and pseudo businessmen.

The current methods of cooperation among your services and subunits, as well as with other law enforcement agencies and the public in the detection of crimes must urgently be revised.

You must consistently and persistently increase the role and responsibility of people participating in the process of detecting crimes.

You must decisively fight with cases of crime concealment and improve the quality of investigations by eliminating cases of groundless suspension and dismissal of criminal cases.

Fifth, the strengthening of discipline and law-abidingness among the personnel is a priority task.

I demand that you decisively get rid of employees and servicemen who are guilty of corruption, of participating in commercial activities, violating the law, betraying the interests of service, and displaying cowardice and inability to protect the interests of citizens. Venality and betrayal of official duty should be removed decisively and relentlessly. Otherwise, the prestige of internal affairs agencies will be seriously undermined in the eyes of our citizens.

Sixth, I demand that you ensure rational and efficient use of financial and material-technical resources. It is necessary to pursue one policy toward purchases and use of new equipment.

In these hard times, the president and the government are supporting and will support any of your reasonable initiatives and actions. As the economic situation improves, we will display even more concern over the problems and social protection of the personnel. I would like you to keep in mind, however, that the responsibility for the [law-enforcement] situation will increase.

I hope for and count on your understanding of the current situation. Only your professionalism, high discipline, self-possession, and law-abidingness, as well as everyone's wish to achieve more significant results, will help us cope with crime and ensure the security of our people and citizens.

I wish you success in your hard work, which is so essential for the state. I wish you and your families health and well-being.

Lukashenka Denies Sympathies With Hitler

LD2911175895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1629 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, Nov 29 (Interfax-West) - Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka has described as "at least shameless lies and outright idiocy" statements by some mass media that he feels sympathies for Adolf Hitler.

As he talked to journalists in a constituency in Minsk, Lukashenka blamed what he described as "masterminded and generously paid publications and television stories on nationalist radicals trying to enter parliament."

President Lukashenka confirmed that he did touch upon the subject of uniting the nation in an interview granted to a German journalist recently. "However, interpreting what I said in the sense that my understanding of the way Belarus should be governed coincides with the model of Nazi Germany is a lie and nonsense."

Lukashenka is certain that the purpose of this campaign is to make Belarusian voters, in the first place, veterans and retirees, go to the polls to vote for the opposition.

Reportage on Repeat Parliamentary Elections

Lukashenka Comments on Elections

LD2911180695 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Nov 95

[From the "Segodnya" newscast; presented by Tatyana Mitkova]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On the territory of the former USSR, the main event today is happening in Belarus — repeat elections to the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted] Aleksandr Stupnikov reports from Minsk.

[Stupnikov] There is a cloudless sky over the whole of Belarus today. [passage omitted] Running in the elections today are 865 candidates. Turnout before lunch was lowest in Minsk with 28 percent. Turnout was highest in Vitebsk Region; however, in the opinion of the president the elections should be deemed valid.

[Begin Lukashenka recording] I think the elections, this round of the elections, will be deemed valid. But I do not know how many people we will elect as a result. We will elect maybe 20 or 15. As for the second round, well, I am even afraid to spend money on it, but there is no avoiding it. That is to say, the process is under way. [end recording]

[Stupnikov] [passage omitted] Alyaksandr Lukashenka is even ready today to hold a referendum on amendments to the Constitution and to work with an incomplete Supreme Soviet.

[Begin Lukashenka recording] We have probably established a very large level of representation in the Supreme Soviet, but a fact remains a fact: 120 people will work. I am ready to recognize such a parliament. [end recording]

[Stupnikov] The president confirmed once again his not very high opinion of the present candidates. When I looked at the list of candidates, I felt bad, he said the day before. It should be admitted that the passivity of the population in the Belarus elections is in many ways due to a skeptical attitude both toward parliament and to politicians in general.

Preliminary Results Show Elections Valid

LD3011093495 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0500 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Now, as promised, here are the preliminary unofficial results of the repeat elections to the new Belarusian parliament and local soviets. Here is our special correspondent, Ivan Gladki, who spent all day yesterday at the Central Electoral Commission, even part of the night.

[Gladki] The preliminary unofficial results of the repeat elections are as follows: In the republic on the whole, 61.2 percent of the voters on the list for secret ballot took part. If we split this figure by region it looks like this: Brest Region — 64 percent; Vitebsk Region — 60.8 percent; Gomel Region — 62.7 percent; Grodno — 61.3 percent; Mogilev Region — 63.9 percent; Minsk — 65.7 percent and the city of Minsk — 56.6 percent. I have asked Professor Alyaksandr Mikhailavich Abramovich, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, to comment on these results.

[Begin recording] [Abramovich] I think you have already provided the best possible commentary. You have quoted the figures and there is little one can add. Of course, we can see that the activity of our electorate has proved to be quite high. If we study the turnout in the regions, we can see that our electorate is more or less level in its attitude to the elections. This allows us to draw a conclusion that the decisions taken in the regions can also coincide.

All this will be seen clearly in relation to the parliamentary deputies who have achieved either a final or an interim victory at this stage of the elections. Effectively in several hours we will have the names of those who have finally won a deputy's mandate finally; I believe there will be few of those. In most cases, we will know in a few hours the names of those who have made it into the second round of the elections. The second round will, of course, take place quite soon — on about 10 December, I believe. We will also have information about each candidate, both those elected to parliament and those who will participate in the second round of elections; we will know their party affiliation, their age, and profession. [passage omitted]

[Gladki] Have the repeat election been valid in all constituencies, or maybe they have not been valid in some?

[Abramovich] [passage omitted] The preliminary information is being further checked and will be confirmed within the next hour. However, we can now say that the elections have been valid in all constituencies without exception, in all the constituencies we had at the start of the elections. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] Today, the results of the voting in the first round of the repeat elections will be the subject of two news conferences — one by foreign observers and the other by staff of the Central Electoral Commission.

TASS on Results of Elections First Round

LD3011120695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1000 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By BELTA correspondents Vladimir Gulevich, Larisa Lazar, and Larisa Klyuchnikova for TASS]

[FBIS Translated Text] Minsk, 30 Nov — The further fate of the Belarusian parliament remains in doubt just as before. Although the elections to the representative bodies of power took place yesterday, the 20 deputies elected in the first round are obviously insufficient for the Supreme Soviet to be active, in accordance with the Constitution. For the new parliament to be able to start work, at least another 35 deputies must be elected in the second round, which is to take place on 10 December. All in all, taking into account the results of the May elections, 139 members of parliament have been elected, while there are a total of 260 seats.

As far as the statistics for yesterday's action are concerned, they are the following. Taking part in the elections were 61.2 percent of Belarusian citizens. The regional distribution of voters was as follows: in Brest Region 64 percent voted; in Vitebsk region 60.8 percent; in Gomel Region 62.7 percent; in Grodno Region 61.3 percent; in Mogilev Region 63.9 percent; in Minsk Region 65.7 percent; and in the city of Minsk 56.6.

Among the 20 candidates who were victorious in the struggle for deputies' mandates, the best known are Alyaksey Kamay, formerly secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belarus, currently a member of the Party of Communists of Belarus, and Alyaksandr Dabravolski, deputy chairman of the United Civic Party. As far as the remaining 18 victors are concerned, four of them are communists, three agrarians, and 11 have no party affiliation.

The representatives of the democratic parties, who were heavily defeated at the May polls, apparently have no intention of giving up this time without a fight. Valentin Golubev, Sergey Antonchik, Yuriy Khadyko, Leonid Borshchevskiy, and a number of others, who are well-known representatives of the Belarusian People's Front in the republic, have reached the second round. As far as Zenon Poznyak, who is standing for Smorgon constituency, is concerned, he failed to stay the distance despite an advantage over his opponent. The People's

Front leader failed to get the 3 percent needed to become a deputy. As his only rival also failed to pass this figure both are automatically ruled out of the second round of the ballot.

The United Civic Party bloc will be fairly solidly represented in the second round in the Belarusian capital. Former Speaker Stanislav Shushkevich; former National Bank Chairman Stanislav Bogdankevich; former Belarusian Ambassador to Poland Georgiy Tarazevich; and the politicians Gennadiy Karpenko, Viktor Gonchar, and others have also surged ahead of their rivals.

Moldova

Russian Attache Denies 'Rumors' About Detention of Spies

AU2911173895 Chisinau INFOTAG in English
1930 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, November 27 (INFOTAG) — The military attache of the Russian Embassy in Chisinau, Colonel Valeriy Zybrov, has refuted rumours on the detention of Russian spies by Moldovan security organs.

"This concoction has been whipped up by local media. There were and are no spies. And the recent refutations made by high-standing Moldovan officials are testimony to that, too," the colonel said.

"Despite that, some media keep on spreading the rumours. Evidently, this is in somebody's interests. The information on the recent visit to Moldova of a Russian military delegation was turned upside down. The negotiations it held here were interpreted as Moscow's official proposition to set up a military base in Moldova. In reality, the topic was the preparation to signing in next January an agreement on cooperation between the two defence ministries, which is a normal practice between countries maintaining friendly, civilized relations," Valeriy Zybrov said.

Moldova Said Not Joining CIS Military-Political Union

LD2911223095 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1855 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU, Nov 29 (Interfax) — Moldovan presidential spokesman Vasiliy Grozavu told a briefing in Chisinau today that Moldova did not intend to join the CIS military-political union or other military-political blocs.

Moldova will not join military blocs because this would contradict the Moldovan Constitution which reads that the country is neutral, Grozavu said.

"Moldova's membership in the CIS consists in participation in comprehensive mutually beneficial economic cooperation with all CIS member-states," he said.

With regard to the role of mediators at talks on settlement in the Transdniestr region, Grozavu said that "President Mircea Snegur emphasizes the OSCE's priority role." (The Transdniestr region is a self-proclaimed republic in Moldova).

"However, the role of Russia and Ukraine in maintaining stability in the region on the whole could not be disregarded," Grozavu said.

Meeting With Dniester Leaders Postponed Indefinitely

LD2911154995 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1334 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU, Nov 29 (Interfax) — A meeting of Moldovan leaders and the administration of the unrecognized Transdniester Republic, scheduled for Wednesday, has been postponed for an indefinite time, head of the expert team and Transdniester State Secretary Valeriy Litskay told Interfax.

He said the summit date will be fixed by working expert teams of Chisinau and Tiraspol.

Transdniester leaders have blamed Chisinau for postponing the summit. Tiraspol Parliament Speaker Grigoriy Marakutsa told the local TV last weekend the Moldovan leaders are refusing to meet under the pretext Transdniester keeps appealing to the Russian State Duma for recognition.

In their turn, Transdniester representatives do not agree with Moldovan leaders on the need to hold the summit in Chisinau, said the speaker. The summit was due to be held in Tiraspol, he noted.

Radio Transdniester circulated a letter by President of the unrecognized Transdniester Republic Igor Smirnov to Moldovan leader Mircea Snegur this morning. The letter urged Snegur to discuss a draft memorandum on statehood of the Transdniester Moldovan Republic and its state-legal relations with Moldova on November 29 in Tiraspol.

At the latest summit on September 13, Moldovan leaders rejected these documents. President Snegur said it is senseless to have meetings if Tiraspol refuses to abandon the idea of its own statehood.

Dniester Speaker Favors Talks Continuation

AU2911170895 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2100 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol 27/11/1995 (BASApress) — The Russian State Duma resolution regarding Dniester is not a reason to cancel the Snegur-Smirnov meeting, scheduled for 29 November, Dniester Speaker Grigore Maracuta declared. Maracuta stated on Tiraspol TV on 25 November that the Chisinau official reaction to the resolution is groundless. "The Moldovan leadership has repeatedly accused Dniester, calling them secessionists, including in the United Nations and the Council of Europe, but this did not serve as a reason for us to neglect the meetings with the Chisinau officials," Maracuta said.

He mentioned that the official Tiraspol takes a negative attitude toward the idea to hold an international conference on secessionism in Chisinau. "We might approach the issue the same way as Chisinau does by negotiating with us on the one hand and, on the other, organize conferences dealing with methods to fight against us," the Dniester dignitary stated.

He stressed that the 29 November meeting can be held only in Tiraspol, in accordance with the regulations on ordinary meetings, alternatively in Chisinau and Tiraspol. "The previous round of 15 October, took place in Chisinau, that is why the current meeting will be held either in Tiraspol or not at all, as we will not go to Chisinau," Maracuta said. Earlier presidential representatives said the 29 November round of Snegur-Smirnov talks poses a problem, because of the Russian Duma resolution recommending Boris Yeltsin to declare Dniester a zone of Russian special strategic interest.

Presidential Adviser on Summit Postponement

LD2911192795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1629 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU, Nov 29 (Interfax) — The postponement of the Moldovan-Transdniester summit should not be regarded as a disruption of peace settlement talks, Moldovan presidential advisor Viktor Zosu told Interfax Wednesday [29 November].

According to Zosu, the summit, earlier scheduled for Wednesday, was postponed because the Transdniester leaders had appealed to Russia's State Duma to recognize Transdniester as an independent state. As a result, the Duma passed a resolution calling on the Russian president to recognize Transdniester, he added.

Zosu said "the position of Moldova's leadership is unshakable: the issue of the republic's eastern region should be solved by granting Transdniester a special legal status within a single Moldovan state."

"All proposals and draft laws to this effect will be made public," Zosu added.

Chisinau, Tiraspol Blame Each Other

LD2911224395 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Moldovan leadership and the leaders of the Dniester region have failed to agree on their positions for the round of talks planned for today on a settlement of the Dniester conflict. As a result, the talks have been suspended. Both sides lay responsibility for the breakdown in the dialogue on each other. The Chisinau and Tiraspol leaders have different positions on the question of Russian troops in the Dniester region as well.

[Correspondent Yuriy Selivanov] The Moldovan leadership was presented with a draft treaty on military cooperation between the Russian Federation and Moldova. According to Sokolov, the treaty is a standard one and similar to those already concluded between Russia and other CIS states. During the course of talks with the local leadership in Chisinau and then Tiraspol, the idea of the transformation of the operational group of Russian troops deployed in the Dniester region into a peacekeeping formation was also discussed. This proposal of the Russian side's received varying appraisals. Moldova has already stated more than once that the Russian troops cannot fulfill peacekeeping functions since they occupy a far from neutral position. The Dniester region, in turn, fears that the transformation of the group of troops into peacekeeping forces, and the transfer of the latter over to joint command, would create a precondition for their withdrawal from the conflict area before a political settlement is achieved.

Tajikistan

UN Envoy Arrives in Ashgabat for Inter-Tajik Talks

LD2911235295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1544 GMT 29 Nov 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ashgabat, 29 Nov — Ramiro Piriz-Ballon, special envoy of the UN secretary general, arrived in Ashgabat today. He will take part in the fifth round of the inter-Tajik talks, which opens here on Thursday [30 November]. In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Piriz-Ballon stressed that the resumption of the inter-Tajik dialogue was an important step on the path towards settling the conflict, and the protracted pause in this dialogue did not play into the hands of either of the sides involved in the confrontation.

The special envoy of the UN secretary general also noted the high level of the preparations for the talks provided by the Turkmen side.

The talks between Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov and Ramiro Piriz-Ballon started this evening. The talks are expected to flesh out aspects of the talks from the point of view of creating the most favored climate for them.

The participants in the talks, observers and international experts continue to arrive in Ashgabat.

ITAR-TASS Previews Talks

LD3011115595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1058 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ASHGABAT, November 30 (Itar-Tass) — The fifth round of the intra-Tajik talks will begin here today four hours later than originally planned — at 16 p.m. local time (11.00 gmt). This is due to the fact that the official delegation of Dushanbe, led by First Vice-Premier Mahmadsaid Ubaydullayev, arrived here later than scheduled.

Before flying to Ashgabat, the Tajik "Khovar" news service reports, official Dushanbe had declared its readiness to get down to a constructive discussion: President Emomali Rakhmanov was quoted as saying that "the fifth round must be the last one" in the difficult intra-Tajik negotiations process.

Readiness to resume a constructive dialogue was confirmed here today morning by representative of the Tajik opposition Khodzhi Akbar Turandjonzoda during his meeting with Turkmenian President Saparmurad Niyazov.

Interviewed by Itar-Tass, Special Emissary of the U.N. Secretary- General Ramiro Piriz-Ballon, who is also taking part in the talks, said that it would be hardly possible to achieve a compromise quickly. "Hence, it is important for the negotiating parties, and equally important for the countries capable of influencing the outcome of the talks, namely Russia, Iran, and other bordering states, to jointly contribute to the creation of a climate which would help reach an agreement in Tajikistan," he stated.

UN Official on Aid Rendered to Tajik Refugees

LD3011000695 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0500 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The main goal of international organizations in Tajikistan is to bring life back to normal. One of these organizations is the administration of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

A KHOVAR news agency correspondent interviewed Mr (Amin Ovo), acting head of the presidium of the UN High Commission for Refugees in our republic, and asked him to speak about the repatriation of refugees — our compatriots who are away from their homes — and about the living conditions for them after repatriation.

Some of the country's residents who have gone to neighboring Afghanistan are considered to be refugees; others who have been forced to leave their localities are refugees by force. It should be noted that both refugees and forced refugees have faced many difficulties. The number of refugees during the internecine war was 60,000. In March-April 1993 their mass repatriation was started. During the first stage, 42,000 refugees and 5,000 forced refugees returned home.

At present, 95 percent of refugees and forced refugees have come back to their permanent place of residence. According to our data, between 6,000 and 9,000 people are still in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region. They are mainly from Khatlon Region.

Refugees and forced refugees face serious problems after returning to their permanent place of residence. Most of their houses are in ruins or are not fit to live in.

The UN High Commission and staff at other organizations have sent construction materials to build 17,000 houses and 3,000 medium-size water pumps have been put into operation. Another problem connected with repatriation of refugees and forced refugees is to restore normal life for them. Small enterprises producing soap, shoes, and clothes have been built and oil mills and small poultry farms have been put into operation. It is very important that these workshops give them the opportunity to provide themselves with essential goods, at least in the initial stages. In all, $28 million have been allotted for building houses and small enterprises. The U.S. Government and the European Union have put up most of this sum. Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, Russia, Finland, and a number of other countries have also rendered us assistance.

The UN High Commission for Refugees is cooperating with some non- governmental institutions in Tajikistan. We cooperate on a contract basis with those who have been working in European, African, and CIS hot spots — Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan — and who have gained good experience. Staff from the Helsinki Watch human rights organization, which has advisory status in the United Nations, is making sure the rights and freedoms of repatriated refugees and forced refugees are observed. The presidium of the UN High Commission has missions in Kurgan-Tyube and in the districts of Bokhtar, Vakhsh, Dzhilikul, Dusti, Kabodiyon, and Shaartuz; altogether eight.

According to agreements concluded with the republic's government, the presidium of the UN High Commission's term in Tajikistan will be completed at the end of this year, but its institutions, like the UN's development program, will on the contrary be expanding.

Uzbekistan

U.S. Involvement in Boosting Private Business Noted

LD2911233495 Tashkent Radio Mashal in Russian 0700 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Denationalization and privatization of property are increasingly developing in Uzbekistan. [passage omitted]

Tadbirkorbank specialists are constantly carrying out marketing investigations with the purpose of defining opportunities for their clients to develop external economic activities with foreign partners. As a result, a foundation has been laid for exporting goods produced by Uzbek businessmen and importing necessary equipment, as well as other important articles from abroad. Initial results have been achieved in this sphere.

For example, the KFL Bank of Germany has opened a credit line worth DM [German marks] 85 million to develop farming and small enterprises in villages. In order to get foreign capital on preferential terms, Tadbirkorbank, jointly with its clients, has carried out technical and economic feasibility studies for 68 projects. Forty three of these projects have been presented to the Uzbek Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Equipment made in Germany worth DM28 million has been imported in order for clients of the bank to implement these projects.

Activities in this area are also being performed with the Central Asian and American Fund for the Support of Entrepreneurs. The U.S. Government has established this fund in order to support and develop business in Central Asia, and a credit for $150 million has been allocated for this purpose.

An official agreement has been signed between Uztadbirkorbank and the American fund. Under this agreement, capital which businessmen of our republic receive from the American fund will be channelled through Uztadbirkorbank. Uztadbirkorbank, together with the American side, is planning to allocate capital from the American fund principally to import equipment and technology made in America for rural businessmen and farming, to develop the infrastructure of the agroindustrial complex, and to organize consumer and other services. Initial capital of $108,000 has been given to two businessmen from Andizhan Region in this area. [passage omitted]

Armenia

Armenian Parliament Speaker Chairs Black Sea Meeting

NC2711211495 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Istanbul's Armenian newspaper JAMANAK [TIME] reported that on the first day of his visit to Ankara, Chairman of the Armenian National Assembly Babken Ararktsyan chaired a session of the bureau of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation [PABSEC]. The chairmen of the Russian, Romanian, Ukrainian, and Azerbaijani parliaments took part in the meeting as co-chairmen of the Parliamentary Assembly.

Today, Babken Ararktsyan chaired the permanent commission of the Parliamentary Assembly. The full sessions of the Parliamentary Assembly will take place on 28 and 29 November under Ararktsyan's chairmanship.

The chairmen of the PABSEC-member parliaments, headed by Babken Ararktsyan, will meet Turkish President Suleyman Demirel, President of the Grand National Assembly Ismet Sezgin, Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, and Foreign Minister Deniz Baykal.

Ararktsyan Meets Turkish President

NC3011005295 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In his presidential residence, Turkish President Suleyman Demirel has received the heads of the delegations attending the plenary session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation [PABSEC], led by Babken Ararktsyan, chairman of PABSEC and of the Armenian National Assembly.

Greeting his guests, Demirel noted the importance of PABSEC in solving regional problems. Ararktsian thanked the Turkish authorities for creating favorable conditions for holding the PABSEC meeting. He stressed the important role of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation in the sphere of regional stability, peace, and economic cooperation.

The deputy prime minister and foreign minister, Deniz Baykal, also met the parliamentary delegations headed by Ararktsyan. A meeting with Prime Minister Ciller did not take place because she had gone to Sarajevo.

The Armenian delegation will return to Yerevan on 30 November.

JAMANAK [Armenian-language paper in Istanbul] informed ARMENPRES that the Armenian parliamentary delegation — Karapet Rubinyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian National Assembly; Eduard Yegoryan, chairman of the parliament's State and Legal Affairs Commission; and parliamentarian Julietta Kazhoyan — headed by Ararktsyan met Ismet Sezgin, speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Issues relating to PABSEC and Armenian-Turkish relations were discussed. Both sides stressed the importance of PABSEC in regional issues and interparliamentary cooperation.

Referring to Armenian-Turkish relations, the sides emphasized the need to establish goodneighborly ties. Sezgin expressed satisfaction that the Armenian delegation entered Turkey via the Kars border gate. Ararktsyan noted that the Kars border gate could play an important role.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Speaks in UK on Hopes for Russian Border Talks

LD3011123995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1152 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By Andrey Urban]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, November 30 (Itar-Tass) — The closing of the northern border between Azerbaijan and Russia, effected by the Russian Government, creates big difficulties for Baku, Azeri President Geydar Aliyev, who is currently visiting Britain, said here today.

"One year has elapsed since the outbreak of hostilities on the territory of the Chechen Republic," he pointed out. "The border between Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation remained locked up for all this period".

"Unfortunately," Aliyev added, "the ban on crossing the border between the two countries still remains in force and affects not only people, but the transportation of cargoes, too, which engenders substantial problems. We are conducting talks with the Russian government in order to relax the border regime, and we hope that the situation will be improved."

Aliyev on Caspian Sea Project: 'Contract of the Century'

LD2911222895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1939 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] LONDON, November 29 (Itar-Tass) — Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev said that investment in the "contract of the century" to develop oil fields in the Caspian Sea will amount to about 700 million U.S. dollars in 1995-1996.

Last year, the world's 11 oil companies, including Russia's LUKoil, set up an international oil consortium and signed a "contract of the century" in Baku to launch a joint development of oil fields in the Azerbaijani sector of the Caspian Sea. The contract was signed for a period of 30 years.

"Today, I want to say, with a feeling of deep satisfaction, that the 'contract of the century' exists not only on paper, but has already proven viable," said Aliyev, who is currently in Britain on a visit.

He said that on October 9, the international oil consortium members decided to build two pipelines to export Azerbaijani oil to the West through Russia and Georgia.

Georgia

Defense Minister Says Army 'Combat Ready'

*LD2911132995 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1108 GMT 29 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TBILISI, Nov 29 (Interfax) — Georgia's Defense Minister Varden Nadibaidze stated Tuesday that "the Georgian army is 90 percent manned and is combat ready."

He told Vasiliy Yakushev, commander of the Russian peacekeeping forces in the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, that "the Georgian leaders still give preference to peaceful settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia."

"The situation in the conflict zone has become relatively stable," Yakushev said. "Contacts have become more active between the population of Abkhazia's Gali region and Georgia's Zugdidi region."

He also said that a high-voltage electric power line linking Russia and Georgia had been restored and would be put into operation soon.

In the Gali region, the line will be guarded by the Russian peacekeeping forces, said Yakushev.

Tbilisi Signs Consular Cooperation Pact With Russia

*LD2911213595 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network
in Georgian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] After a 90-minute dialogue with the Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandre Chikvaidze, Vasiliy Vinogradov, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Consular Department, held a news conference.

It appears that his visit to Georgia turned out to be fruitful — a protocol on consular cooperation between the Georgian and Russian Foreign Ministries was signed. Some of the key points in the protocol are: joint consultations, meetings between the members of the Georgian and Russian consulates, and cooperation with the third countries, i.e. those countries where Russia has consulates and Georgia does not. Georgian citizens will have the right to ask Russian consulates for help if necessary and vice-versa, Russian citizens will find assistance in Georgian consulates.

As for the four ships sailing from Trabzon to Sukhumi under the Russian flag, in Vinogradov's words this issue had been resolved and the case had been handed to the Prosecutor's Office. The Russian side was unanimous in its point of view regarding passports issued by Abkhazia. We consider Abkhazia an indivisible part of Georgia, Vinogradov said, as for the passports issued by the Abkhaz leadership, we consider them null and void.

According to Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandre Chikvaidze, the dialogue between the two sides was constructive.

Commentary on 'Narrow' Postelection Political Spectrum

*AU3011082795 Tbilisi MSGEPSI in Georgian
22-25 Nov 95 pp 1, 2*

[Commentary by Nodar Surguladze: "The Future Narrow Spectrum"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One can say that the last regrouping — large and omnipotent — has already begun. The Union of Georgia's Citizens [UGC] and the National Democratic Party [NDP] are holding consultations on the work of the future Parliament. The Union for the Restoration of All Georgia [URAG] has not yet interfered in these consultations. The reason is simple and clear: This organization bears a regional character and interferes to a lesser degree in the resolution of national problems. The first session of the new Parliament is slated for 26 November. By then, the results of the second round of voting have to be counted and the final composition of Parliament has to be determined.

Today, one can already firmly say that it was not just one party — the UGC — that emerged victorious in the elections of 5 November. The NDP also views itself as a winner in spite of the fact that it will be in a clear minority. In contrast with the previous Parliament, the right-wing National Democrats will have far more deputies in the current legislative body, but this does not at all mean that they will be able to get fundamental and, so to speak, clearly right-wing proposals adopted. One advantage of the Parliament that was elected on 11 October [1992] was that one did not feel that the majority had a decisive edge. In spite of engaging in polemics, struggles, and disputes to an excessive degree, that Parliament was a more principled body. In parallel with the political spectrum, there were groups represented in Parliament whose origins and views were clearly undetermined. That Parliament was unable to work on laws and wasted its time by engaging in senseless arguments and discussing inconsequential issues. However, when necessary, it somehow managed to protect Georgian state interests, which, in our view, is much better than working on any law. To what extent the current Parliament will be able to protect the state's interests remains a very difficult question.

A regrouping has begun in the right-wing spectrum. It is expected that many of those political parties that were defeated in the elections will completely disintegrate. Their rank and file will return to their normal work. Their leaders will soldier on and, if they make some mistake, they will end up where their former and current friends are now. The serious right-wing political forces still have a chance to preserve their parties. If this is what they want, the "painful" process of a so-called natural selection will begin and those who are principally responsible for their party's fiasco will have to leave its ranks. In particular, it is expected that the United Republican Party will disband. One supposes that Paatashvili's "Charter 91" will again quit this party. The Republicans and People's Front will preserve the image of a single party only if there is a major redistribution of functions.

The Union of Traditionalists is not threatened with disintegration and discord. This party continues to remain a parliamentary party and consultations and party directives will really be necessary. One supposes that there will be a "purge" of small left-wing organizations in the political spectrum. Of the left-wing forces, only the Socialists have a chance of remaining as a party provided Rcheulishvili [leader of Socialist Party] is not appointed to some post. The future political spectrum will be fairly narrow. The parliamentary UGC, NDP, and regional "Restorationalists," along with the nonparliamentary Republicans and possibly the Socialists, will shape Georgian reality. The NDP will be a kind of bridge between the Republicans and the UGC. As is clear, it will befriend both the Republicans and the UGC and its struggle will slowly be taken up by the Traditionalists. The UGC will oppose the Traditionalists although this does not mean that Deputy Prime Minister Basilia will not end up in a key post.

The Basilia factor is a temporary one. Around springtime, we will probably not see him in the political or economic elite. The latter will be composed of members of the UGC and NDP and there will simply be no other organizations represented. If the National Democrats are very active from this point of view and if the UGC gives them "some posts," this could be a sign that the Cabinet of Ministers that survives the winter will be brought to account by precisely the UGC and, in spite of the fact that the UGC will itself remove its own ministers, in so doing, it will get rid of the cream of the opposition NDP.

The UGC will easily dispose of 10-15 ministers. They will have no difficulty in replacing them (on account of their number). However, it will be fairly hard for the NDP to leave the Cabinet of Ministers. This will be a sign that the NDP, as an executive organization and party, will never be able to get into government. Consultations between the NDP and UGC will continue right up until the first session. We should only expect these two parties to wage a war offstage. To do this, the NDP will need the support of a party that is outside Parliament. The Republicans will choose to assume this function or not.

It is less likely that there will be any cooperation between the Socialists and the UGC that holds similar views. The Socialists (provided they survive) will probably join a strong left-wing opposition and will criticize the UGC from the socialist standpoint.

The remaining parties will become part of history. Their appearance in history had no sense.... It was painless as will be their disappearance. Politics is for politicians and nor for them.

Estonia

Church Recognition Infringes on Rights of Russian Minority

LD3011105095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0928 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By Albert Maloveryan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TALLINN, November 30 (Itar-Tass) — Archbishop of Tallinn and All Estonia Korniliy resolutely protested the decision of Estonian authorities to register the exiled Estonian Orthodox Church in the republic which can result in the takeover by the latter of all Orthodox churches and cathedrals.

The Archbishop addressed all foreign ambassadors in Estonia calling on them to inform their governments "that a critical situation" had emerged around the Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church headed by him.

The statement issued on Wednesday followed the Estonian government's decision to recognize the so-called Estonian Orthodox Church in exile in Stockholm where it had to flee in the beginning of World War II. According to Korniliy, the Estonian government had thus refused to recognise his church as the only Orthodox Church in the republic.

If the Estonian court, which is to consider the government's resolution, backs the decision to recognise the exiled church, the property of the Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church, including cathedrals, will have to be transferred to the former, according to Korniliy.

However, "that religious organisation has not been recognized by any Orthodox Church in the world in the quality of the Orthodox church", he stressed.

Korniliy has qualified the position of the Estonian government as "sacrilege" which may lead to "most undesirable consequences".

The archbishop sent a letter to OSCE High Commissioner for national minorities Max Van der Stoel in which he stated that the Estonian government's decision, if approved by the court, will infringe on the rights of the Russian-speaking minority most of who are Orthodox Church believers.

Russian Metropolitan Kirill, who heads the Moscow Patriarchate's Foreign Relations department, backed Korniliy and urged the Foreign ministry not to allow infringements on the rights of Russian parishioners in Estonia.

In response Russian Foreign minister Andrey Kozyrev said that his ministry was "trying to solve the problem through diplomatic channels".

Latvia

Birkavs Says No Funds Available To Pay UN Debt

LD3011121295 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1000 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Due to outstanding membership contributions, Latvia may lose its vote in the United Nations. Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs has said that although Latvia has managed to reduce the membership payment which was previously set for it, our country's debt amounts to $2 million. The state budget does not provide funds for payment of the above debt, and talks with delegations from UN member states have not been successful.

Latvia is currently paying only that part of its contribution which it deems just. The foreign minister said that due to political considerations, Latvia is not taking over part of the USSR contributions because it does not consider itself as successor to the USSR.

Birkavs Rejects Estonian Mediation in Border Dispute

LD3011121595 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1000 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A Latvian delegation headed by Deputy Ivars Kezbers is going to Tallinn today to take part in the session of the Baltic Assembly. The composition of the Latvian delegation to the Baltic Assembly has been approved by the sixth Saeima [parliament] and includes 20 Saeima deputies.

A session of the presidium of the Baltic Assembly will take place this evening. Estonia's proposal to mediate in the Latvian-Lithuanian oil conflict will also be considered at the session.

Arnold Ruutel, head of the Baltic Assembly, this week said that Estonia would be able to help tackle the border dispute between the two countries. Kezbers' delegation at the Assembly will not include Latvian Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs because he has to prepare for the Latvian Way congress.

However, Valdis Birkavs has already stated that Estonia cannot be a mediator in the tackling of the issue of the maritime border between Latvia and Lithuania. The issue of the maritime border would have to be settled by way of talks between Latvia and Lithuania. A hullabaloo has been stirred up and especially by the Lithuanian side and it should be allowed to cool down a little, Birkavs said. He said that both neighboring countries have recently offered to tackle mutual disagreements. Estonia has promised to help Latvia tackle disagreements with Lithuania, while Lithuania has promised to help tackle misunderstandings between Latvia and Estonia. Mediation of this kind is impossible when both sides are each interested in chopping off a peace from Latvia, Birkavs said. If the sides fail to agree, the issue of the maritime border has to be tackled with the mediation of international experts and in the extreme case in the international court.

Cevers Asked To Form New Government

LD2911164595 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1600 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, after talks with State President Guntis Ulmanis, Ziedonis Cevers announced to journalists that he has been entrusted by Guntis Ulmanis to form the next government. At present, it is known that, compared with the composition of the National Reconciliation Bloc government announced in October, it has different candidates for the posts of ministers of economics, education, and internal affairs. Due to his state of health, Joahims Zigerists will not be part of the Cevers government.

At present, a session of the Democratic Party Saimnieks faction is taking place, after which Ziedonis Cevers has promised to announce to journalists the composition of the government he is forming, and when he will ask the Saeima [parliament] to vote on confidence in this government.

Lithuania

U.S. Eximbank Grants $5 Million Loan for Oil Terminal

WS3011120195 Tallinn BNS in English 1621 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Nov 29, BNS — Lithuania and the United States' EXIM Bank have signed an agreement on a five million U.S. dollar loan for planning an oil terminal on the Baltic sea coast at Butinge.

Lithuanian Finance Minister Reinoldijus Sarkinas signed the agreement Wednesday [29 November]. It had already been signed earlier by Vladislovas Gedvilas, general director of the Butinge Oil Company, and by Fabio Paltenghi, vice-president of the American subsidiary of the Union Bank of Switzerland. This bank had won a tender to serve the five million dollar loan from the EXIM Bank.

Sarkinas also signed a note of intention for the EXIM Bank to the effect that Lithuania truly intends to borrow the entire promised sum of 80 million dollars. This note is indispensible, since the board of the EXIM Bank will discuss its budget for next year in December and this sum must be taken into account.

In accordance with the requirements of the EXIM Bank, Lithuania had to sign the note of intention before Nov. 30.

The agreement between Lithuania and the EXIM Bank will grant five million dollars in loan for a three-year period at about six percent annual interest and an additional 3.8 percent risk tax.

"Things are going very well, although Lithuania's greatest worry is having to pay 15 percent of this sum to Fluor Daniel, which is carrying out the planning work," Butinge Oil's general director Vladislovas Gedvilas said. Lithuania must pay 250,000 dollars to the planners immediately and only then will receive the loan from the EXIM Bank.

Lithuania will have to pay a total of 16.6 million dollars to Fluor Daniel for planning, supplies and supervision of the construction.

If work at the terminal continues on schedule, construction of storage buildings will begin in March of next year, floating platform — in April, and pumps and boilers — at the beginning of May.

Construction of the oil pipeline should commence in June of 1997, and the sea terminal section will be assembled in the summer of that year. By November 1, 1997, the project should be completed.

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